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# THE GREAT MINDS OF AMERICA.

## I.—GOLDWIN SMITH.

THERE is a branch of history which, although in our day historians have ceased to deal exclusively with diplomacy, politics and war, receives even yet, but seldom, the separate and careful treatment that might bring out its full significance. In a modern historical narrative we are sure to read, not only about warriors and statesmen, but also about the conquerors in the fields of scientific research, in astronomy, physics, chemistry and biology, about the inventors who enrich mankind with the practical applications of scientific principles, about theologians, legists, men of letters, painters, sculptors and architects. We still hear relatively little, on the other hand, about the men who stand in the background, so far as any active part in public life or special investigation is concerned, but who interpret more or less correctly the meaning of current events, who direct more or less consciously the general tendencies of their contemporaries, and who shape more or less decisively the attitude of their generation towards the problems of daily life. We can exemplify the place occupied and the function discharged by such interested and alert onlookers, if we recall the part played by Erasmus in the first third, and, less conspicuously, by Montaigne in the last third, of the sixteenth century; by Pascal in the first half, and by

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Hobbes and Locke in the last half, of the seventeenth; by Montesquieu, Voltaire and Rousseau in the eighteenth; by Goethe in the first quarter, and, so far as Britons and Americans could be reached, by Thomas Carlyle and Ralph Waldo Emerson in the third quarter, of the nineteenth century. The comments made by such detached but watchful spectators of the drama unfolded in the struggles, achievements and failures of mankind are illuminative and helpful, because they are uttered from a coign of vantage like the tower imagined by Lucretius as commanding a wide prospect of a tossing sea, a view-point which enables the observer to see social phenomena in their right perspective and true dimensions.

In Western countries, no generation since the Renaissance has been entirely deprived of the benefit derivable from such impartial commentaries and far-sighted suggestions; and, although, from the instinctive disposition to extol times past, we of to-day may conceive ourselves in this respect less happy than our fathers, there is no doubt that we possess on this side of the Atlantic men who, in a certain measure, at least, perform for us the same useful function. Among them may be specified Goldwin Smith and Charles W. Eliot, nor is it disputable that other names will at once recur to the reader's mind. It is mainly as a commentator on contemporary affairs, and on those historical events which have a direct bearing on the present state of things, that we purpose here to mark briefly the work done by Goldwin Smith.

## I.

By way of preface, the barest outline of a biography may be desirable. To that purpose, however, we can devote only a few sentences. Goldwin Smith was educated at Eton, after which he matriculated at University College, Oxford, where he not only gained a Double First (a first class in classics and in mathematics), but also the Hertford and Ireland Scholarships (which attest a still higher grade of proficiency in the Greek and Latin languages); the Chancellor's prize for Latin Verse; the Latin Essay prize and the English Essay prize. Early in the fifties, he was appointed, in conjunction with Arthur Stanley (subsequently Dean of Westminster), a Secretary of the Royal Commission appointed to reform the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and in that capacity was credited with doing more

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than any or all of his colleagues to bring about the drastic changes which revolutionized those hide-bound institutions. In 1858, he was made Regius Professor of Modern History, the office which was to be filled successively by his coevals, Stubbs, Freeman and Froude. An unflinching and outspoken champion of the North during our Civil War, he visited the United States in 1868; resigned his post at Oxford to become Honorary Professor of English and Constitutional History in Cornell University; and in 1871 went to Canada, where he has since resided.

The list of his published writings is suggestive of the habitual drift of his thought. In the long catalogue, perhaps three works should be specifically mentioned as being the most widely known, the most influential, and the most likely to prove durable, to wit, his "Political History of the United Kingdom"; his "Political History of the United States," which is rather a philosophical disquisition than a pictorial narrative, and for that very reason possesses a peculiar value; and, finally, the compact but full-freighted volume entitled "Essays on Questions of the Day."

In a long-remembered course of lectures, delivered at Oxford, on the statesmen of the Commonwealth, the substance of which is reproduced concisely in "The History of the United Kingdom," Goldwin Smith anticipated Carlyle in forming and impressing conceptions of Eliot, Pym, Hampden and, above all, of Cromwell, which are now generally accepted as correct. Singularly enlightening is his answer to the question, What did Pym and Hampden mean to do with the Church and Commonwealth when they had beaten the King? "The Church, of course, they meant to make Puritan, probably with an episcopate unmitred and reduced in power;" a counterpart, in fact, of what we see in the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States; for neither Pym nor Hampden was, in principle, opposed, as the Presbyterians and Independents were, to that form of church government. "As to the Commonwealth, both of them were monarchists, though they wished to put the monarch under parliamentary control." Yet they could never have set Charles I again upon his throne. The conviction, founded upon repeated experience, that no faith could be put in his pledges and concessions, however solemn, was their motive and justification for drawing the sword. To what expedient, then, must they eventually have had recourse? The reply is: "Probably, they would

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have done what was done by their political heirs in 1688; they would have kept the monarchy, but changed the dynasty. Lewis, the young Elector-Palatine, son of the Protestant idol, the Electress Elizabeth, had appeared in England, and the eyes of the people had been turned to him." To Goldwin Smith, therefore, it seems not unlikely that, had the party of Pym and Hampden prevailed, the young Elector might have been called to the constitutional throne, to which the patriots of 1688 called William of Orange. Of Cromwell in the same work we read that "he had no love of sabre-sway. Like Cæsar, unlike Napoleon, he had been a politician before he was a soldier, and he had always shown himself loyal in principle to the supremacy of the civil power." Goldwin Smith's researches led him to conclude that Cromwell's aim may fairly be said to have been, "after the closing of the wounds of the Civil War by amnesty, to resettle the Government on a broad national basis," in accordance with the habits and traditions of the people, securing to the nation at the same time the substantial objects, religious and political, the religious objects, above all, for which the civil sword had been drawn. "From the conference which Cromwell held at the critical moment with leading men, soldiers and lawyers, to take soundings of opinion as to the settlement of the Constitution, it appears that his own leaning was in favor of something monarchical, whether with the old or with a new name." Herein Goldwin Smith can see no apostasy. Cromwell had drawn his sword in a religious cause, with which the cause of civil liberty was identified, but had never proclaimed himself a republican, though he had republicans among his brethren in arms, and had, no doubt, listened to them with sympathy, and, perhaps, flattered their aspirations. Evidently, he had been willing to restore the King, if the King could have been bound effectually to mend his ways. "That Cromwell was still true to liberty, Milton, no bad judge, must have been convinced when he wrote his sonnet. Though the poet knew that Cromwell had suffered detraction, yet over this, as over his enemies in war, he hailed him triumphant, and beckoned him on to victories of peace and to the rescue of free conscience, whereof he regards him as the hope." In a word, the true view of Cromwell's character is pronounced to be that which represents him as raised from step to step by circumstances, without far-reaching ambition or settled plan.

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In the second volume of his history of "The United Kingdom," Goldwin Smith brought out clearly for the first time the essential and far-reaching difference between the form of federal government created in 1867 by the British North America Act for the Dominion of Canada and that which we see exemplified in the Constitution of the United States. The difference is thus stated in a nutshell: "In the case of Canadian confederation, the national element has been from the first stronger than the federal in this respect, that the residuary power which the American organic law leaves in the States was, by the Canadian Constitution, assigned to the Dominion." Moreover: "The Canadian Constitution, though framed in the main by Canadian politicians, is set forth in an imperial Act of Parliament, subject to repeal or amendment only by the same authority by which it was passed." The inference seems warranted that "a community living under a Constitution imposed by external authority, and without the power of making peace or war, can hardly be said yet to have attained the status of a nation."

The outline of the political history of the United States was recognized at the time of its publication as a marvel of condensation and lucidity. In no other book, whether from the pen of De Tocqueville, or from that of Bryce, has the same field been covered so succinctly and so well. Of the five chapters—there are no more—the first deals with the colonial epoch, the second, with the Revolutionary period, the third and fourth review the history of the Federal Government to the outbreak of the Civil War, and the fifth depicts the era of rupture and reconstruction. Every page of the brief essay is enriched with striking and incisive comments that challenge the reader to reconsider carefully, if not to change, his personal views of historical persons and events.

## II.

Among the living and urgent problems examined in the volume comprising "Essays on Questions of the Day," none is now more opportune and useful than that which considers the prospect and the inevitable limits of social and industrial revolution. It should be, of course, kept in mind that the standpoint of Goldwin Smith is that of a Liberal of the old school as yet unconverted to State Socialism, who still looks for further improvement, not to increased Governmental interference, but to individual effort,

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free association and the same agencies, moral, intellectual and economical, which have brought us thus far, and one of which, science, is now operating with immensely augmented power. In a word, Goldwin Smith accounts it the function of Government to protect these agencies, not to supersede them. Obviously, a writer of this school can have no panacea or nostrum to offer; and, when a nostrum or panacea is offered, he will, necessarily, be found rather on the critical than on the effusive side. He will look for advancement, not for regeneration; expect improvement still to be, as it has been, gradual; and hope much from steady, calm and harmonious effort, little from violence or revolution.

Not that he lacks deep and fervent sympathy with the effort of reformers to relieve the mass of working-men from social and political disabilities. No man with a brain and a heart, he says, can fail to be penetrated with a sense of the unequal distribution of wealth, or to be willing to try any experiment which may hold out a reasonable hope of putting an end to poverty. By the success of such an experiment, the happiness of the rich, of such, at least, of them as are good men, would be increased far more than their riches would be diminished. Only the Nihilist, however, would desire blindly to plunge society into chaos. Goldwin Smith sees that it is plainly beyond man's power to alter the fundamental conditions of his being. "There are inequalities, greater even than those of wealth, which are fixed, not by human lawgivers, but by nature, such as those of health, strength, intellectual power and length of life; and these draw other inequalities with them. Justice is human. Where inequality is the fiat, not of man, but of a power above man, it is idle for any practical purpose to assail it as injustice."

No doubt the difference between a good and a bad workman is, partly at least, the act of nature; but to give the same wages to the good workman and the bad, as Communists propose, while it might be just from some superhuman point of view, would yet, from the only view-point which mankind can practically attain, be pronounced by Goldwin Smith unjust. While the limits, however, of human progress are thus clearly perceived, Goldwin Smith is no pessimist. On the whole, his view of man's future is a sanguine one. He keeps in view the fact that steady industry, aided by the ever-growing powers of practical science,

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is rapidly augmenting wealth. He can discern no cause for doubting that thrift and increased facilities for saving and for the employment of small capitals, will promote the equality of distribution. "Let Governments see," he says, "that labor is allowed to enjoy its full earnings, untaxed by war, waste or iniquitous tariffs. The best of all taxes, it has been truly averred, is the smallest. With equal truth it may be said that the best of all Governments is that which has least occasion to govern."

Of recent years Goldwin Smith has evinced, now and then, an inclination to turn his attention from political, social and economical inquiries to the haunting problems concerning a future life and man's relation to the cosmos. Some of his thoughts upon this subject have been set forth in "Rational Religion and Rationalistic Objections"; and in "Guesses at the Riddle of Existence." His specific view-point is that of an agnostic, but of one who recalls tenderly and gratefully the beauty and the nobility with which faith, in elevating and benign religions, has dignified and embellished human nature. Of such blessings he would hold fast to as much as is compatible with a paramount reverence for truth.

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# CHAPTERS FROM MY AUTOBIOGRAPHY—XXII*

BY MARK TWAIN.

PREFATORY NOTE.—Mr. Clemens began to write his autobiography many years ago, and he continues to add to it day by day. It was his original intention to permit no publication of his memoirs until after his death; but, after leaving "Pier No. 70," he concluded that a considerable portion might now suitably be given to the public. It is that portion, garnered from the quarter-million of words already written, which will appear in this REVIEW during the present year. No part of the autobiography will be published in book form during the lifetime of the author.—EDITOR N. A. R.

[*Dictated, October 10, 1906.*] Susy has named a number of the friends who were assembled at Onteora at the time of our visit, but there were others—among them Laurence Hutton, Charles Dudley Warner, and Carroll Beckwith, and their wives. It was a bright and jolly company. Some of those choice spirits are still with us; the others have passed from this life: Mrs. Clemens, Susy, Mr. Warner, Mary Mapes Dodge, Laurence Hutton, Dean Sage—peace to their ashes! Susy is in error in thinking Mrs. Dodge was not there at that time; we were her guests.

(1890.)

We arrived at nightfall, dreary from a tiresome journey; but the dreariness did not last. Mrs. Dodge had provided a home-made banquet, and the happy company sat down to it, twenty strong, or more. Then the thing happened which always happens at large dinners, and is always exasperating: everybody talked to his elbow-mates and all talked at once, and gradually raised their voices higher, and higher, and higher, in the desperate effort to be heard. It was like a riot, an insurrection; it was an intolerable volume of noise. Presently I said to the lady next me—

"I will subdue this riot, I will silence this racket. There is

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only one way to do it, but I know the art. You must tilt your head toward mine and seem to be deeply interested in what I am saying; I will talk in a low voice; then, just because our neighbors won't be able to hear me, they will *want* to hear me. If I mumble long enough—say two minutes—you will see that the dialogues will one after another come to a standstill, and there will be silence, not a sound anywhere but my mumbling."

Then in a very low voice I began:

"When I went out to Chicago, eleven years ago, to witness the Grant festivities, there was a great banquet on the first night, with six hundred ex-soldiers present. The gentleman who sat next me was Mr. X. X. He was very hard of hearing, and he had a habit common to deaf people of shouting his remarks instead of delivering them in an ordinary voice. He would handle his knife and fork in reflective silence for five or six minutes at a time and then suddenly fetch out a shout that would make you jump out of the United States."

By this time the insurrection at Mrs. Dodge's table—at least that part of it in my immediate neighborhood—had died down, and the silence was spreading, couple by couple, down the long table. I went on in a lower and still lower mumble, and most impressively—

"During one of Mr. X. X.'s mute intervals, a man opposite us approached the end of a story which he had been telling his elbow-neighbor. He was speaking in a low voice—there was much noise—I was deeply interested, and straining my ears to catch his words, stretching my neck, holding my breath, to hear, unconscious of everything but the fascinating tale. I heard him say, 'At this point he seized her by her long hair—she shrieking and begging—bent her neck across his knee, and with one awful sweep of the razor—'

"HOW DO YOU LIKE CHICA-A-AGO?!!!"

That was X. X.'s interruption, hearable at thirty miles. By the time I had reached that place in my mumblings Mrs. Dodge's dining-room was so silent, so breathlessly still, that if you had dropped a thought anywhere in it you could have heard it smack the floor.* When I delivered that yell the entire dinner company jumped as one person, and punched their heads through the ceiling, damaging it, for it was only lath and plaster, and it all

* This was tried. I well remember it.—M. T., *October, '06.*

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came down on us, and much of it went into the victuals and made them gritty, but no one was hurt. Then I explained why it was that I had played that game, and begged them to take the moral of it home to their hearts and be rational and merciful thenceforth, and cease from screaming in mass, and agree to let one person talk at a time and the rest listen in grateful and unvexed peace. They granted my prayer, and we had a happy time all the rest of the evening; I do not think I have ever had a better time in my life. This was largely because the new terms enabled me to keep the floor—now that I had it—and do all the talking myself. I do like to hear myself talk. Susy has exposed this in her Biography of me.

Dean Sage was a delightful man, yet in one way a terror to his friends, for he loved them so well that he could not refrain from playing practical jokes on them. We have to be pretty deeply in love with a person before we can do him the honor of joking familiarly with him. Dean Sage was the best citizen I have known in America. It takes courage to be a good citizen, and he had plenty of it. He allowed no individual and no corporation to infringe his smallest right and escape unpunished. He was very rich, and very generous, and benevolent, and he gave away his money with a prodigal hand; but if an individual or corporation infringed a right of his, to the value of ten cents, he would spend thousands of dollars' worth of time and labor and money and persistence on the matter, and would not lower his flag until he had won his battle or lost it.

He and Rev. Mr. Harris had been classmates in college, and to the day of Sage's death they were as fond of each other as an engaged pair. It follows, without saying, that whenever Sage found an opportunity to play a joke upon Harris, Harris was sure to suffer.

Along about 1873 Sage fell a victim to an illness which reduced him to a skeleton, and defied all the efforts of the physicians to cure it. He went to the Adirondacks and took Harris with him. Sage had always been an active man, and he couldn't idle any day wholly away in inanition, but walked every day to the limit of his strength. One day, toward nightfall, the pair came upon a humble log cabin which bore these words painted upon a shingle: "Entertainment for Man and Beast." They were obliged to stop there for the night, Sage's strength being ex-

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hausted. They entered the cabin and found its owner and sole occupant there, a rugged and sturdy and simple-hearted man of middle age. He cooked supper and placed it before the travellers —salt junk, boiled beans, corn bread and black coffee. Sage's stomach could abide nothing but the most delicate food, therefore this banquet revolted him, and he sat at the table unemployed, while Harris fed ravenously, limitlessly, gratefully; for he had been chaplain in a fighting regiment all through the war, and had kept in perfection the grand and uncritical appetite and splendid physical vigor which those four years of tough fare and activity had furnished him. Sage went supperless to bed, and tossed and writhed all night upon a shuck mattress that was full of attentive and interested corn-cobs. In the morning Harris was ravenous again, and devoured the odious breakfast as contentedly and as delightedly as he had devoured its twin the night before. Sage sat upon the porch, empty, and contemplated the performance and meditated revenge. Presently he beckoned to the landlord and took him aside and had a confidential talk with him. He said,

"I am the paymaster. What is the bill?"

"Two suppers, fifty cents; two beds, thirty cents; two breakfasts, fifty cents—total, a dollar and thirty cents."

Sage said, "Go back and make out the bill and fetch it to me here on the porch. Make it thirteen dollars."

"Thirteen dollars! Why, it's impossible! I am no robber. I am charging you what I charge everybody. It's a dollar and thirty cents, and that's all it is."

"My man, I've got something to say about this as well as you. It's thirteen dollars. You'll make out your bill for that, and you'll *take* it, too, or you'll not get a cent."

The man was troubled, and said, "I don't understand this. I can't make it out."

"Well, I understand it. I know what I am about. It's thirteen dollars, and I want the bill made out for that. There's no other terms. Get it ready and bring it out here. I will examine it and be outraged. You understand? I will dispute the bill. You must stand to it. You must refuse to take less. I will begin to lose my temper; you must begin to lose yours. I will call you hard names; you must answer with harder ones. I will raise my voice; you must raise yours. You must go into a rage—

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foam at the mouth, if you can; insert some soap to help it along. Now go along and follow your instructions."

The man played his assigned part, and played it well. He brought the bill and stood waiting for results. Sage's face began to cloud up, his eyes to snap, and his nostrils to inflate like a horse's; then he broke out with—

"*Thirteen dollars!* You mean to say that you charge thirteen dollars for these damned inhuman hospitalities of yours? Are you a professional buccaneer? Is it your custom to—"

The man burst in with spirit: "Now, I don't want any more out of you—that's a plenty. The bill is thirteen dollars and you'll *pay* it—that's all; a couple of characterless adventurers bilking their way through this country and attempting to dictate terms to a gentleman! a gentleman who received you supposing you were gentlemen yourselves, whereas in my opinion hell's full of—"

Sage broke in—

"Not another word of that!—I won't have it. I regard you as the lowest-down thief that ever—"

"Don't you use that word again! By ——, I'll take you by the neck and—"

Harris came rushing out, and just as the two were about to grapple he pushed himself between them and began to implore—

"Oh, Dean, don't, *don't*—now, Mr. Smith, control yourself! Oh, think of your family, Dean!—think what a scandal—"

But they burst out with maledictions, imprecations and all the hard names they could dig out of the rich accumulations of their educated memories, and in the midst of it the man shouted—

"When *gentlemen* come to this house, I treat them *as* gentlemen. When people come to this house with the ordinary appetites of gentlemen, I charge them a dollar and thirty cents for what I furnished you; but when a man brings a hell-fired Famine here that gorges a barrel of pork and four barrels of beans at two sittings—"

Sage broke in, in a voice that was eloquent with remorse and self-reproach, "I never thought of that, and I ask your pardon; I am ashamed of myself and of my friend. Here's your thirteen dollars, and my apologies along with it."

[*Dictated March 12, 1906.*] I have always taken a great in-

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terest in other people's duels. One always feels an abiding interest in any heroic thing which has entered into his own experience.

In 1878, fourteen years after my unmaterialized duel, Messieurs Fortu and Gambetta fought a duel which made heroes of both of them in France, but made them rather ridiculous throughout the rest of the world. I was living in Munich that fall and winter, and I was so interested in that funny tragedy that I wrote a long account of it, and it is in one of my books, somewhere—an account which had some inaccuracies in it, but as an exhibition of the *spirit* of that duel, I think it was correct and trustworthy. And when I was living in Vienna, thirty-four years after my ineffectual duel, my interest in that kind of incident was still strong; and I find here among my Autobiographical manuscripts of that day a chapter which I began concerning it, but did not finish. I wanted to finish it, but held it open in the hope that the Italian ambassador, M. Nigra, would find time to furnish me the *full* history of Señor Cavalotti's adventures in that line. But he was a busy man; there was always an interruption before he could get well started; so my hope was never fulfilled. The following is the unfinished chapter:

(1878.)

As concerns duelling. This pastime is as common in Austria to-day as it is in France. But with this difference, that here in the Austrian States the duel is dangerous, while in France it is not. Here it is tragedy, in France it is comedy; here it is a solemnity, there it is monkey-shines; here the duellist risks his life, there he does not even risk his shirt. Here he fights with pistol or sabre, in France with a hairpin—a blunt one. Here the desperately wounded man tries to walk to the hospital; there they paint the scratch so that they can find it again, lay the sufferer on a stretcher, and conduct him off the field with a band of music.

(1898.)

At the end of a French duel the pair hug and kiss and cry, and praise each other's valor; then the surgeons make an examination and pick out the scratched one, and the other one helps him on to the litter and pays his fare; and in return the scratched one treats to champagne and oysters in the evening, and then "the incident is closed," as the French say. It is all polite, and gracious, and pretty, and impressive. At the end of an Austrian duel the antagonist that is alive gravely offers his hand to the other man, utters some phrases of courteous regret, then bids him good-by and goes his way, and that incident also is closed. The French duellist is painstakingly protected from danger, by the rules of the game. His antagonist's weapon cannot reach so far as his body; if he get a scratch it will not be above his elbow. But in Austria the

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rules of the game do not provide against danger, they carefully provide *for* it, usually. Commonly the combat must be kept up until one of the men is disabled; a non-disabling slash or stab does not retire him.

For a matter of three months I watched the Viennese journals, and whenever a duel was reported in their telegraphic columns I scrap-booked it. By this record I find that duelling in Austria is not confined to journalists and old maids, as in France, but is indulged in by military men, journalists, students, physicians, lawyers, members of the legislature, and even the Cabinet, the Bench and the police. Duelling is forbidden by law; and so it seems odd to see the makers and administrators of the laws dancing on their work in this way. Some months ago Count Bodeni, at that time Chief of the Government, fought a pistol-duel here in the capital city of the Empire with representative Wolf, and both of those distinguished Christians came near getting turned out of the Church—for the Church as well as the State forbids duelling.

In one case, lately, in Hungary, the police interfered and stopped a duel after the first innings. This was a sabre-duel between the chief of police and the city attorney. Unkind things were said about it by the newspapers. They said the police remembered their duty uncommonly well when their own officials were the parties concerned in duels. But I think the underlings showed good bread-and-butter judgment. If their superiors had carved each other well, the public would have asked, Where were the police? and their places would have been endangered; but custom does not require them to be around where mere unofficial citizens are explaining a thing with sabres.

There was another duel—a double duel—going on in the immediate neighborhood at the time, and in this case the police obeyed custom and did not disturb it. Their bread and butter was not at stake there. In this duel a physician fought a couple of surgeons, and wounded both—one of them lightly, the other seriously. An undertaker wanted to keep people from interfering, but that was quite natural again.

Selecting at random from my record, I next find a duel at Tarnopol between military men. An officer of the Tenth Dragoons charged an officer of the Ninth Dragoons with an offence against the laws of the card-table. There was a defect or a doubt somewhere in the matter, and this had to be examined and passed upon by a Court of Honor. So the case was sent up to Lemberg for this purpose. One would like to know what the defect was, but the newspaper does not say. A man here who has fought many duels and has a graveyard, says that probably the matter in question was as to whether the accusation was true or not; that if the charge was a very grave one—cheating, for instance—proof of its truth would rule the guilty officer out of the field of honor; the Court would not allow a gentleman to fight with such a person. You see what a solemn thing it is; you see how particular they are; any little careless act can lose you your privilege of getting yourself shot, here. The Court seems to have gone into the matter in a searching and careful fashion, for several months elapsed before it reached a decision. It then sanctioned a duel and the accused killed his accuser.

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Next I find a duel between a prince and a major; first with pistols —no result satisfactory to either party; then with sabres, and the major badly hurt.

Next, a sabre-duel between journalists—the one a strong man, the other feeble and in poor health. It was brief; the strong one drove his sword through the weak one, and death was immediate.

Next, a duel between a lieutenant and a student of medicine. According to the newspaper report these are the details. The student was in a restaurant one evening: passing along, he halted at a table to speak with some friends; near by sat a dozen military men; the student conceived that one of these was "staring" at him; he asked the officer to step outside and explain. This officer and another one gathered up their caps and sabres and went out with the student. Outside—this is the student's account—the student introduced himself to the offending officer and said, "You seemed to stare at me"; for answer, the officer struck at the student with his fist; the student parried the blow; both officers drew their sabres and attacked the young fellow, and one of them gave him a wound on the left arm; then they withdrew. This was Saturday night. The duel followed on Monday, in the military riding-school — the customary duelling-ground all over Austria, apparently. The weapons were pistols. The duelling terms were somewhat beyond custom in the matter of severity, if I may gather that from the statement that the combat was fought "*unter sehr schweren Bedingungen*"—to wit, "Distance, 15 steps—with 3 steps advance." There was but one exchange of shots. The student was hit. "He put his hand on his breast, his body began to bend slowly forward, then collapsed in death and sank to the ground."

It is pathetic. There are other duels in my list, but I find in each and all of them one and the same ever-recurring defect—the *principals* are never present, but only their sham representatives. The *real* principals in any duel are not the duellists themselves, but their families. They do the mourning, the suffering, theirs is the loss and theirs the misery. They stake all that, the duellist stakes nothing but his life, and that is a trivial thing compared with what his death must cost those whom he leaves behind him. Challenges should not mention the duellist; he has nothing much at stake, and the real vengeance cannot reach him. The challenge should summon the offender's old gray mother, and his young wife and his little children,—these, or any to whom he is a dear and worshipped possession—and should say, "You have done me no harm, but I am the meek slave of a custom which requires me to crush the happiness out of your hearts and condemn you to years of pain and grief, in order that I may wash clean with your tears a stain which has been put upon me by another person."

The logic of it is admirable: a person has robbed me of a penny; I must beggar ten innocent persons to make good my loss. Surely nobody's "honor" is worth all that.

Since the duellist's family are the real principals in a duel, the State ought to compel them to be present at it. Custom, also, ought to be

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so amended as to require it; and without it no duel ought to be allowed to go on. If that student's unoffending mother had been present and watching the officer through her tears as he raised his pistol, he—why, he would have fired in the air. We know that. For we know how we are all made. Laws ought to be based upon the ascertained facts of our nature. It would be a simple thing to make a duelling law which would stop duelling.

As things are now, the mother is never invited. She submits to this; and without outward complaint, for she, too, is the vassal of custom, and custom requires her to conceal her pain when she learns the disastrous news that her son must go to the duelling-field, and by the powerful force that is lodged in habit and custom she is enabled to obey this trying requirement—a requirement which exacts a miracle of her, and gets it. Last January a neighbor of ours who has a young son in the army was wakened by this youth at three o'clock one morning, and she sat up in bed and listened to his message:

"I have come to tell you something, mother, which will distress you, but you must be good and brave, and bear it. I have been affronted by a fellow officer, and we fight at three this afternoon. Lie down and sleep, now, and think no more about it."

She kissed him good night and lay down paralyzed with grief and fear, but said nothing. But she did not sleep; she prayed and mourned till the first streak of dawn, then fled to the nearest church and implored the Virgin for help; and from that church she went to another and another and another; church after church, and still church after church, and so spent all the day until three o'clock on her knees in agony and tears; then dragged herself home and sat down comfortless and desolate, to count the minutes, and wait, with an outward show of calm, for what had been ordained for her—happiness, or endless misery. Presently she heard the clank of a sabre—she had not known before what music was in that sound!—and her son put his head in and said:

"X was in the wrong, and he apologized."

So that incident was closed; and for the rest of her life the mother will always find something pleasant about the clank of a sabre, no doubt.

In one of my listed duels—however, let it go, there is nothing particularly striking about it except that the seconds interfered. And prematurely, too, for neither man was dead. This was certainly irregular. Neither of the men liked it. It was a duel with cavalry sabres, between an editor and a lieutenant. The editor walked to the hospital, the lieutenant was carried. In this country an editor who can write well is valuable, but he is not likely to remain so unless he can handle a sabre with charm.

The following very recent telegram shows that also in France duels are humanely stopped as soon as they approach the (French) danger-point:

"*Reuter's Telegram.*—PARIS, *March 5.*—The duel between Colonels Henry and Picquart took place this morning in the Riding School of

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the Ecole Militaire, the doors of which were strictly guarded in order to prevent intrusion. The combatants, who fought with swords, were in position at ten o'clock.

"At the first reengagement Lieutenant-Colonel Henry was slightly scratched in the fore arm, and just at the same moment his own blade appeared to touch his adversary's neck. Senator Ranc, who was Colonel Picquart's second, stopped the fight, but as it was found that his principal had not been touched, the combat continued. A very sharp encounter ensued, in which Colonel Henry was wounded in the elbow, and the duel terminated."

After which, the stretcher and the band. In lurid contrast with this delicate flirtation, we have this fatal duel of day before yesterday in Italy, where the earnest Austrian duel is in vogue. I knew Cavalotti slightly, and this gives me a sort of personal interest in his duel. I first saw him in Rome several years ago. He was sitting on a block of stone in the Forum, and was writing something in his note-book—a poem or a challenge, or something like that—and the friend who pointed him out to me said, "That is Cavalotti—he has fought thirty duels; do not disturb him." I did not disturb him.

[*May 13, 1907.*] It is a long time ago. Cavalotti—poet, orator, satirist, statesman, patriot—was a great man, and his death was deeply lamented by his countrymen: many monuments to his memory testify to this. In his duels he killed several of his antagonists and disabled the rest. By nature he was a little irascible. Once when the officials of the library of Bologna threw out his books the gentle poet went up there and challenged the whole fifteen! His parliamentary duties were exacting, but he proposed to keep coming up and fighting duels between trains until all those officials had been retired from the activities of life. Although he always chose the sword to fight with, he had never had a lesson with that weapon. When game was called he waited for nothing, but always plunged at his opponent and rained such a storm of wild and original thrusts and whacks upon him that the man was dead or crippled before he could bring his science to bear. But his latest antagonist discarded science, and won. He held his sword straight forward like a lance when Cavalotti made his plunge—with the result that he impaled himself upon it. It entered his mouth and passed out at the back of his neck. Death was instantaneous.

[*Dictated December 20, 1906.*] Six months ago, when I was recalling early days in San Francisco, I broke off at a place where



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I was about to tell about Captain Osborn's odd adventure at the "What Cheer," or perhaps it was at another cheap feeding-place —the "Miners' Restaurant." It was a place where one could get good food on the cheapest possible terms, and its popularity was great among the multitudes whose purses were light. It was a good place to go to, to observe mixed humanity. Captain Osborn and Bret Harte went there one day and took a meal, and in the course of it Osborn fished up an interesting reminiscence of a dozen years before and told about it. It was to this effect:

He was a midshipman in the navy when the Californian gold craze burst upon the world and set it wild with excitement. His ship made the long journey around the Horn and was approaching her goal, the Golden Gate, when an accident happened.

"It happened to me," said Osborn. "I fell overboard. There was a heavy sea running, but no one was much alarmed about me, because we had on board a newly patented life-saving device which was believed to be competent to rescue anything that could fall overboard, from a midshipman to an anchor. Ours was the only ship that had this device; we were very proud of it, and had been anxious to give its powers a practical test. This thing was lashed to the garboard-strake of the main-to'gallant mizzen-yard amidships,* and there was nothing to do but cut the lashings and heave it over; it would do the rest. One day the cry of 'Man overboard!' brought all hands on deck. Instantly the lashings were cut and the machine flung joyously over. Damnation, it went to the bottom like an anvil! By the time that the ship was brought to and a boat manned, I was become but a bobbing speck on the waves half a mile astern and losing my strength very fast; but by good luck there was a common seaman on board who had practical ideas in his head and hadn't waited to see what the patent machine was going to do, but had run aft and sprung over after me the moment the alarm was cried through the ship. I had a good deal of a start of him, and the seas made his progress slow and difficult, but he stuck to his work and fought his way to me, and just in the nick of time he put his saving arms about me when I was about to go down. He held me up until the boat reached us and rescued us. By that time I was unconscious, and I was still unconscious when we arrived at the ship. A dangerous fever followed, and I was de-

* Can this be correct? I think there must be some mistake—M. T.

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lirious for three days; then I came to myself and at once inquired for my benefactor, of course. He was gone. We were lying at anchor in the Bay and every man had deserted to the gold-mines except the commissioned officers. I found out nothing about my benefactor but his name—Burton Sanders—a name which I have held in grateful memory ever since. Every time I have been on the Coast, these twelve or thirteen years, I have tried to get track of him, but have never succeeded. I wish I could find him and make him understand that his brave act has never been forgotten by me. Harte, I would rather see him and take him by the hand than any other man on the planet."

At this stage or a little later there was an interruption. A waiter near by said to another waiter, pointing,

"Take a look at that tramp that's coming in. Ain't that the one that bilked the house, last week, out of ten cents?"

"I believe it is. Let him alone—don't pay any attention to him; wait till we can get a good look at him."

The tramp approached timidly and hesitatingly, with the air of one unsure and apprehensive. The waiters watched him furtively. When he was passing behind Harte's chair one of them said,

"He's the one!"—and they pounced upon him and proposed to turn him over to the police as a bilk. He begged piteously. He confessed his guilt, but said he had been driven to his crime by necessity—that when he had eaten the plate of beans and slipped out without paying for it, it was because he was starving, and hadn't the ten cents to pay for it with. But the waiters would listen to no explanations, no palliations; he must be placed in custody. He brushed his hand across his eyes and said meekly that he would submit, being friendless. Each waiter took him by an arm and faced him about to conduct him away. Then his melancholy eyes fell upon Captain Osborn, and a light of glad and eager recognition flashed from them. He said,

"Weren't you a midshipman once, sir, in the old 'Lancaster'?"

"Yes," said Osborn. "Why?"

"Didn't you fall overboard?"

"Yes, I did. How do you come to know about it?"

"Wasn't there a new patent machine aboard, and didn't they throw it over to save you?"

"Why, yes," said Osborn, laughing gently, "but it didn't do it."

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"No, sir, it was a sailor that done it."

"It certainly was. Look here, my man, you are getting distinctly interesting. Were you of our crew?"

"Yes, sir, I was."

"I reckon you may be right. You do certainly know a good deal about that incident. What is your name?"

"Burton Sanders."

The Captain sprang up, excited, and said,

"Give me your hand! Give me both your hands! I'd rather shake them than inherit a fortune!"—and then he cried to the waiters, "Let him go!—take your hands off! He is my guest, and can have anything and everything this house is able to furnish. I am responsible."

There was a love-feast, then. Captain Osborn ordered it regardless of expense, and he and Harte sat there and listened while the man told stirring adventures of his life and fed himself up to the eyebrows. Then Osborn wanted to be benefactor in his turn, and pay back some of his debt. The man said it could all be paid with ten dollars—that it had been so long since he had owned that amount of money that it would seem a fortune to him, and he should be grateful beyond words if the Captain could spare him that amount. The Captain spared him ten broad twenty-dollar gold pieces, and made him take them in spite of his modest protestations, and gave him his address and said he must never fail to give him notice when he needed grateful service.

Several months later Harte stumbled upon the man in the street. He was most comfortably drunk, and pleasant and chatty. Harte remarked upon the splendidly and movingly dramatic incident of the restaurant, and said,

"How curious and fortunate and happy and interesting it was that you two should come together, after that long separation, and at exactly the right moment to save you from disaster and turn your defeat by the waiters into a victory. A preacher could make a great sermon out of that, for it does look as if the hand of Providence was in it."

The hero's face assumed a sweetly genial expression, and he said,

"Well now, it wasn't Providence this time. I was running the arrangements myself."

"How do you mean?"

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"Oh, I hadn't ever seen the gentleman before. I was at the next table, with my back to you the whole time he was telling about it. I saw my chance, and slipped out and fetched the two waiters with me and offered to give them a commission out of what I could get out of the Captain if they would do a quarrel act with me and give me an opening. So, then, after a minute or two I straggled back, and you know the rest of it as well as I do."

MARK TWAIN.

*(To be Continued.)*

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# THE AUTHOR AND SIGNERS OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.*

BY WOODROW WILSON, PRESIDENT OF PRINCETON UNIVERSITY.

IT is common to think of the Declaration of Independence as a highly speculative document; but no one can think so who has read it. It is a strong rhetorical statement of grievances against the English government. It does, indeed, open with the assertion that all men are equal and that they have certain inalienable rights, among them the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. It asserts that governments were instituted to secure these rights, and can derive their just powers only from the consent of the governed; and it solemnly declares that "whenever any government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation in such principles, and organizing its powers in such forms, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness." But such sentences do not afford a general theory of government to formulate policies upon. No doubt we are meant to have liberty; but each generation must form its own conception of what liberty is. No doubt we shall always wish to be given leave to pursue happiness as we will, but we are not yet sure where or by what means we shall find it. That we are free to adjust government to these ends we know; but Mr. Jefferson and his colleagues in the Continental Congress prescribed the law of adjustment for no generation but their own. They left us to say whether we thought the government they had set up was founded on "such principles," its powers organized in "such forms" as seem to us most likely to effect our safety and happiness. They do not attempt to dictate the aims and objects of any generation but their own.

* Address at Jamestown Exposition, Norfolk, Virginia, July 4th, 1907.

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We are justified in looking back with a great satisfaction to the documents which spoke the purposes of the Revolution and formed the government which was to succeed to the authority of King and Parliament. They speak the character of the men who drew them as clearly as they speak the circumstances of the time. The fifty-six men who put their names to the Declaration of Independence were not of the sort to meet acute crises in affairs with treatises on government. They were accustomed to the practice of business, and as apt to go straight to their point as any minister oversea. They were of every calling:—men were apt in that day of beginnings to have been of several callings by the time they reached middle life. Lawyers predominated among them, like James Wilson and John Adams and Edward Rutledge; but there were merchants too, like Robert Morris of Philadelphia and John Hancock of Boston; country gentlemen of large affairs, like Benjamin Harrison and Charles Carroll; and physicians, like Benjamin Rush and Lyman Hall. Thomas Jefferson and Benjamin Franklin we cannot classify: each stands unique and individual, a man separated by genius. Hard-headed Englishmen, like Button Gwinnet of Georgia; and men sure of their rights because they were Irishmen, born with an inclination to assert them, like James Smith and George Taylor, added to the handsome variety; and a man like John Witherspoon, the indomitable president of Princeton, turned statesman to authenticate the teaching he was giving lads like James Madison and Harry Lee, contributed his own flavor of unhesitating directness, both of thought and speech. Only Scotchmen seem able to be formidable at once in philosophy and in fact. The only professional politician among them was Samuel Adams, at home a master of agitation and political organization, but in the Congress quiet enough, a statesman of grievances, not of measures.

The genius of the new republic was expressed among these men, as it was expressed eleven years later among the men who framed the Constitution of the United States, by practical capacity, thoughtful, indeed, and holding at its heart clear-cut, unmistakable conceptions of what the government of free men ought to be, but not fanciful, a thing of action rather than of theory, suited to meet an exigency, not a mere turn in debate. We do not live in times as critical as theirs. We are not engaged in making a nation, but we are engaged in purging and preserving a nation,

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and an analysis of our duty in the situation in which we stand is in many ways more difficult than that which they attempted, the remedies to be applied lie less obvious to our choice. They gave us the nation: we owe them, not empty eulogy, but the sincere flattery of imitation. If we are their descendants, either in blood or in spirit, let us distinguish our ancestry from that of others by clear wisdom in counsel and fearless action taken upon plain principle.

No one now needs to be told what the principle of the American Revolution was: it was the principle of individual liberty. Though the men who signed the Declaration of Independence were no theorists but practical statesmen, a very definite conception of what the government of enlightened men ought to be lay back of everything they did, and that conception they held with a passionate conviction. They believed government to be a means by which the individual could realize at once his responsibility and his freedom from unnecessary restraint. Government should guard his rights, but it must not undertake to exercise them for him.

No doubt the most interesting spokesman of that conception was that eminent Virginian, that unique and singular man, the author of the Declaration of Independence. No doubt Thomas Jefferson was an astute politician; no doubt he was a most interesting philosopher; certainly he was a most inscrutable man. It would be impossible to make a consistent picture of him that should include all sides of his varied genius and singular character. He took leave, like all great men of affairs, to be inconsistent and do what circumstances required, approaching the perfection of theory by the tedious indirections of imperfect practice. But the main base of his theories was the base upon which all thoughtful men in his day founded their thinking about politics and intended to found their measures also. He believed consistently and profoundly in the right of the individual to a free opportunity and in the right of the nation to an unhampered development, and was ready to support every law or arrangement which promised to secure the people against any sort of monopoly in taking part in that development. Moreover, he knew that government was a thing conducted by individuals, men whose weaknesses and passions did not differ from the weaknesses and passions of the men whom they governed; and that government

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must operate upon individuals, whose tangled rights and opportunities no government could look into too curiously or seek to control too intimately without intolerable consequences of paternalism and petty tyranny. Every man who signed the Declaration of Independence believed, as Mr. Jefferson did, that free men had a much more trustworthy capacity in taking care of themselves than any government had ever shown or was ever likely to show in taking care of them; and upon that belief the American government was built.

So far as the Declaration of Independence was a theoretical document, that is its theory. Do we still hold it? Does the doctrine of the Declaration of Independence still live in our principles of action, in the things we do, in the purposes we applaud, in the measures we approve? It is not a question of piety. We are not bound to adhere to the doctrines held by the signers of the Declaration of Independence: we are as free as they were to make and unmake governments. We are not here to worship men or a document. But neither are we here to indulge in mere rhetorical and uncritical eulogy. Every Fourth of July should be a time for examining our standards, our purposes, for determining afresh what principles and what forms of power we think most likely to effect our safety and happiness. That and that alone is the obligation the Declaration lays upon us. It is no fetish; its words lay no compulsion upon the thought of any free man, but it was drawn by men who thought, and it obliges those who receive its benefits to think likewise.

What do we think of our safety and of our happiness,—of the principles of action and the forms of power we are using to secure them? That we have come to a new age and a new attitude towards questions of government, no one can doubt,—to new definitions of constitutional power, new conceptions of legislative object, new schemes of individual and corporate regulation. Upon what principle of change do we act? Do we act upon definite calculations of purpose, or do we but stumble hesitatingly upon expedients? To what statements of principle would a declaration of our present reasons and purposes commit us before the world? To those the signers of the Declaration of Independence would have avowed, or to others very different and not at all novel in the political history of the world? This is not a party question: there is apparently, for the moment, little difference between

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parties in regard to it. It is a national question,—a question touching the political principles of America. We ought not to hesitate to avow a change, if change there is to be; but we should be ashamed to act in radical fashion and not know that there was a change. Precedent is at least a guide by which to determine our direction.

There is much in our time that would cause men of the principles of Mr. Jefferson the bitterest disappointment. Individual opportunity is not unhampered. The nation has had in every respect an extraordinary material development, but the chief instrumentalities of that development have been at least virtually monopolized, and the people, though they created the opportunity and contributed the labor, have not shared the benefits of that development as they might have shared them. This has not been due to the operation of our institutions; it has been due to the operation of human nature, which is alike under all institutions and which has perhaps had freer play under our institutions than it would have had under any others—as Mr. Jefferson wished that it should have. Moreover, there is no doubt that we shall set all things right: but it is important we should inquire the way, and not set them right by methods which may bring new trouble upon us, if the old methods will suffice for our safety and happiness. What were those methods? What was the spirit of the nation at its inception,—in 1776 when the great declaration of its intentions was framed, and in 1787 when it made deliberate choice of its form of government?

There is no difficulty in answering these questions; the answers to them have lain before us since we were children, in every book that spoke of our history or of our character as a nation. Let us use them as a mirror into which to look, in order to make test whether we shall recognize our own features, disguised as they are by change of circumstance, in our present habit, as we live.

The most obvious characteristic of the men who gave the nation voice and power was their profound regard for law. That conviction is upon the surface and at the heart of everything they said or did in support of their purpose. They did not fling off from the mother country because they wanted new rights, but because the rights they had time out of mind enjoyed as free men under the laws and constitution of England, and the rights they had been promised as colonists in a new country with a life of

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its own, had been arbitrarily disregarded and withdrawn, and they knew not what ancient and undoubted liberties and privileges they could count upon. They wanted, not less law nor even better law, but law they could rely upon and live by. Their case was a case for legality, for the established understandings of law upon which they knew that liberty had immemorially depended.

There is no longer any need to debate what liberty is. The question has been tried out again and again, both in theory and in practice,—in the council-chamber and on the field of battle, where the air was calm and where it thrilled with passion,—and by no race more thoroughly than by that from which we derive our law; and we may say that we know. Affairs swing this way and that, sometimes with revolutionary force, as interests wage their war for advantage, but we know where the midpoint of perfect poise lies and seek constantly to turn our lines of policy towards it. Liberty consists in the best possible adjustment between the power of the government and the privilege of the individual; and only law can effect that adjustment. Where liberty is there must be a perfect understanding between the individual and those who would control him; and if either he or they can disregard the understanding, there is license or anarchy. It was in that knowledge that the founders of our government loved the law.

These same men, therefore, who revered law and depended upon its grants and definitions for their security and happiness, were deeply jealous of too much law. It is easy to talk of "society," of "communities," of "the people," but the fact is that these are but names we give to bodies made up of individuals. It is easy, also, to speak of "governments" as if they were forces set apart from us and above us; but governments also consist of individuals of like nature with ourselves. That is the reason, the very interesting and conclusive reason, which the founders of our government needed not to have explained to them, why control of our affairs by the government and the regulation of our relations to each other by the law are two very different things, and lead to sharply contrasted results. The history of liberty in the past, from which we may certainly gather some intimation of its history in the future, has been a history of resistance to too much governmental control, and the careful discovery of the best forms and the most prudent degrees of legal regula-

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tion; and it is clear that the law which the signers of the Declaration of Independence loved was something which they regarded, not as a body of powers possessed by a government, but as a body of rules regulating the complex game of life, no more favorable to control than was necessary to make it a safeguard of individual privilege and a guarantee of equal rights. Too much law was too much government; and too much government was too little individual privilege,—as too much individual privilege in its turn was selfish license.

Now let us hold this mirror up to ourselves and see if we recognize in it the image of our own minds. In that mirror we see a conception of government which frankly puts the individual in the foreground, thinking of him as the person to be at once protected and heartened to make a free use of himself, the responsible administrator of his own liberties and his own responsibilities, and of government as the umpire; and which depends upon law for nothing else than a clear establishment of the rules of the game. That is hardly our notion. We are indeed in love with law,—more in love with it than were the makers of the government,—but hardly in love with it as an instrument of mere regulation. For us it is an instrument of reconstruction and control. The individual has eluded us, we seem to say, has merged and hidden himself in corporations and associations, through the intricacies of whose structure we have not time to thread our way in search of him; we will, therefore, meet the circumstances as we find them, treat him not as an integer, but as a fraction, and deal with the association, not with the individual. We will prohibit corporations to do this or to do that, to be this or to be that, and punish them either with fine or with dissolution if they disobey. The morals of business and of law we will frankly accept as corporate morals, not individual morals, and we will not set these corporations, these new individuals of our modern law, to watch and sue one another for infractions of the law: they might combine, and there is no sufficient motive for them to check one another in illegal practices. Neither can we depend upon individuals. They are now too minute and weak. The moralizer and disciplinarian of corporations can, in the nature of the case, be none other than the government itself, and, because corporations spread from State to State, can be none other than the Government of the United States.

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It is amusing how we extend this new theory of law into some of the new details of our life,—extend it, at any rate, in our thinking if not in our legislation. We hear it suggested on every side, for example, that the true and effective way to stop the driving of automobiles along our highways at excessive rates of speed is to lock the automobile itself up whenever the speed laws are violated, so that for a long time at least it may not be used again. I suppose we shall some day see officers of the law arresting electric cars and steam locomotives for the offences which their motormen and engineers have committed, and the faults of men everywhere corrected by locking up their tools. The trouble is that the tools are wanted, and the lives of all of us are inconvenienced if they are taken away. Even the automobile is useful, when used with caution and sanity. And there is exactly the same serious trouble about the way we now deal with our corporations, punishing inanimate things instead of persons. When we fine them, we merely take that much money out of their business,—that is, out of the business of the country,—and put it into the public treasury where there is generally already a surplus, and where it is likely to lie idle. When we dissolve them, we check and hamper legitimate undertakings and embarrass the business of the country much more than we should embarrass it were we to arrest locomotives and impound electric cars, the necessary vehicles of our intercourse. And all the while we know perfectly well that the iniquities we levy the fines for were conceived and executed by particular individuals who go unpunished, unchecked even in the enterprises which have led to the action of the courts. And so from one body of hidden individuals we turn to another, and say, "Go to, we will instruct the Government to regulate this thing in place of boards of directors: if necessary, we will instruct the Government to transact the business which these corporations have made the Government interfere with on account of bad practices. We shall then have honesty: for are not the men who compose the Government men of our own choice, our servants for our common business?"

It needs no prophet to predict that too much government lies that way, and nothing but too much government,—no increased efficiency or improved business to be had in the bargain. And beyond too much government lies the old programme, repeated and repeated again and again every time the like thing has hap-

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pened: a new struggle for liberty, a new eagerness for emancipation from a law that dictates into the freedom of a law that umpires. No doubt the old cycle must some time be gone through again; but we ought not to be the people to go through it: we have had too much light: we have furnished the world with too much doctrine and example in this kind: we cannot afford to illustrate our own principles by our mistakes, after having illustrated them by our successes. Shall we return to our old standards, or shall we adopt arrangements which we know our children will be obliged to reject?

*Can* we return to our old standards, in this strange and altered day when all the face of circumstance seems changed and nothing remains as it was in the time when the government was hopefully set up? Undoubtedly we can. Not everything is changed: the biggest item of all remains unaltered,—human nature itself; and it is nothing to daunt a free people,—free to think and free to act,—that the circumstances in which that old, unalterable nature now expresses itself are so complex and singular. The difficulty of the task is part of its desirability: it is a new enterprise upon which to stretch our powers and make proof of our sanity and strength. It is the task of making a new translation of our morals into the terms of our modern life, where individuality seems for the time being lost in complex organization, and then making a new translation of our laws to match our new translation of morals. It is the task of finding the individual in the maze of modern social and commercial and industrial conditions; finding him with the probe of morals and with the probe of law. One really responsible man in jail, one real originator of the schemes and transactions which are contrary to public interest legally lodged in the penitentiary, would be worth more than one thousand corporations mulcted in fines, if reform is to be genuine and permanent.

It is only in this way that we can escape socialism. If the individual is lost to our law, he is lost to our politics and to our social structure. If he is merged in the business group, he is merged in the state, the association that includes all others. Unless we can single him out again and make him once more the subject and object of law, we shall have to travel still further upon the road of government regulation upon which we have already travelled so far; and that road leads to state ownership.

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We have not even tried to extend the old roads into this vast new area of business and of corporate enterprise, which recent years have seen opening up like a new continent of mind and achievement, and until we have tried, we cannot claim legitimate descent from the founders of the government. We have abandoned their principles without even making trial of their efficacy in a new situation.

The elaborate secret manipulations by means of which some of our so-called "financiers" get control of a voting majority of the stock of great railroad or manufacturing companies, in order to effect vast combinations of interests or properties, incidentally destroying the value of some stocks and fictitiously increasing the value of others, involve first or last acts which are in effect sheer thefts, making the property of thousands of stockholders so much waste paper, or arbitrarily decreasing the relative earning capacity of corporations for a share in whose earnings thousands of men and women had paid hard-earned cash; but we have never sought to bring the details of these transactions within the definitions of criminal law. Not to do so is like overlooking the highway robberies of the mediæval barons. Moreover, it leaves an unjust stain of popular suspicion upon transactions similar to all outward appearance but conceived in justice and fair dealing. Every corporation is personally directed either by some one dominant person or by some group of persons, in respect of every essential step of its policy: somebody in particular is responsible for ordering or sanctioning every illegal act committed by its agents or officers: but neither our law of personal damages nor our criminal law has sought to seek the responsible persons out and hold them individually accountable for the acts complained of. It would require a careful hand and a minute knowledge of existing business conditions to draw the law, but statutes could oblige every corporation to make such public analysis of its organization as would enable both private individuals and officers of the law to fix legal responsibility upon the right person. We have never attempted such statutes. We indict corporations themselves, find *them* guilty of illegal practices, fine *them,* and leave the individuals who devised and executed the illegal acts free to discover new evasions and shape the policy of the corporations to practices not yet covered by the prohibitions of law. We complain that directors are too often mere names

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upon a list, and that even when they attend the meetings of the boards to which they belong they give no real heed to what is done, and allow some committee to have its own way unquestioned; and yet the law could easily make them responsible, personally and individually responsible, to any extent it chose, for acts which their votes authorized, and could thereby quickly change their nominal participation in the affairs of the corporations they pretend to govern into real participation and watchful oversight. Let every corporation exactly define the obligations and powers of its directors, and of its several officers and managers, and then let the law fix responsibility upon them accordingly.

I need not multiply examples. We know that the vast majority of our business transactions are sound, the vast majority of our business men honest. In order to clear the air of unjust suspicion, give credit where credit is due, condemnation where condemnation, let us set ourselves to work to single out individuals and fix personal responsibility, and we shall both lighten the difficulty of government and make a new platform of life. Governmental supervision there must be, but of the kind there has always been in District Attorneys' offices; not the kind that seeks to determine the processes of business, but the kind that brings home to individuals the obligations of the law.

It would be a happy emancipation. We should escape the burden of too much government, and we should regain our self-respect, our self-confidence, our sense of individual integrity. We should think straight with regard to the moral aspect of conduct, and we should escape perplexity with regard to our political future. We should once more have the exhilarating freedom of governing our own lives, the law standing as umpire, not as master.

By such means we should prove ourselves indeed the lineal descendants of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. It is fashionable, as it is easy, to talk about Jeffersonian principles of government. Men of all kinds and of the most opposite doctrines call themselves by Mr. Jefferson's name; and it must be admitted that it is possible to turn many of Mr. Jefferson's opinions this way or that. But no man's name settles any principle; and Mr. Jefferson was originating no novel doctrines, announcing no discoveries in politics, when he wrote the Declaration of In-

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dependence. What it contains is in fact the commonplace of political history. There can be no liberty if the individual is not free: there is no such thing as corporate liberty. There is no other possible formula for a free government than this: that the law must deal with individuals, allowing them to choose their own lives, under a definite personal responsibility to a common government set over them; and that government must regulate, not as a superintendent does, but as a judge does; it must safeguard, it must not direct.

These thoughts ought still to linger in the very air of this place. The first English settlers came here while the breath of the "spacious times of great Elizabeth" was still in every man's lungs, and the quickening impulse of enterprise and adventure. The great Tudor queen had known how to deal with mettlesome men: she had given them leave to do what they pleased in the world, if only they would remember always her sovereignty and their allegiance, and deal always with each other's rights as the law commanded. The things which government fostered and sought to manage never throve in America, amongst the French colonists in Canada and the South, or amongst the Dutch and Danes on the North and South rivers; but the free English energy throve like a thing bred for the wilderness. That breath of individual liberty has never gone out of our lungs. Too much government still suffocates us. We do not respect ourselves as much as fractions as we do as integers. The future, like the past, is for individual energy and initiative; for men, not for corporations or for governments; and the law that has this ancient principle at its heart is the law that will endure.

WOODROW WILSON.



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# THE POWERS OF THE STATES IN THE UNION AND THE NECESSITY OF PRESERVING AND EXERTING THEM.

BY THE LATE UNITED STATES SENATOR JOHN T. MORGAN, OF ALABAMA.

THE sovereignty of the States is the true measure of the supreme power of "the people of the United States," and is the fountain source from which the organic forces of government will be supplied, to meet every new condition in the growth and progress of the nation that can arise in the future. The people of the United States are not personally and individually endowed with sovereign powers. Their sovereignty, in government, is not aggregated, but is separated, and is represented by and through the sovereignty of the States of which they are citizens.

If every voter in the United States should declare, in a general convention through authorized agents, that A is elected President of the United States, that vote would be a nullity. While it would represent the will of the people, it would be impotent as the expression of the sovereign will of the people, reserved to them in the sovereignty of the States; so, in the Senate, every State has equal power, without regard to the number of its population or its geographical area. It is the sovereignty of each State that gives to it this equality of power in the Senate, and that sovereignty is exercised by its people without question, let, or hindrance from any other sovereign State, or from any combination of States.

The predicates thus stated are true beyond question or denial, and will serve to illustrate, along with many others, the powers that comprise the reserved supremacy of State sovereignty in making provision for unforeseen conditions that must arise in

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the growth and perfect consummation of self-government by the sovereign people, nationally designated as "the people of the United States."

Some of these reservations of sovereign powers are expressed in the Constitution as powers to amend that compact, through the sovereign will of the States, in which Congress alone has co-operative authority, as well as in the undefined power of two or more States to enter into compacts with the consent of Congress.

In every view of this vital subject, the sovereign power to provide for conditions that were unforeseen when the Constitution and the Amendments thereof were adopted, has its foundation source in the sovereignty of the States, which resides in the citizens—"the people"—of the States respectively. Thus, the people of the States are the actual source of all political power, and this power, authentically expressed in its sovereign authority, has the support of all the people of the United States.

The crucial point of time in our national history was when the original States, thirteen in number, met in convention at Philadelphia, through their delegates, under the Presidency of George Washington. Such an assembly of sovereign States had never met in all the history of nations, and its purpose was as new to the world of mankind as would be the creation of a new solar system. Each State was as independent of all the rest, and of the control of each other, as Prussia was of France or Italy was of Sweden. This fixed legal status was thus established in the treaty of 1783 with Great Britain.

The meeting of the States in convention was not a surrender of any feature of this separate independence. On the contrary, it was expressly confirmatory of the sovereignty and independence of every State. It was the first, noblest and best conception of liberty regulated by law that was ever expressed in an organic Code, and its justice and its excellent purpose were the guarantors of the real power and majesty of popular government based on the sovereignty of the people.

The new light in government of the people had engaged the contemplation of the greatest minds assembled on this continent from all the wide range of Christendom, and was grasped and made real by the cautiously plighted faith of thirteen sovereign States, and established on the basis of the moral courage that won American Independence.

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No State of that galaxy had any special or peculiar advantage or ambition that it sought to advance. Each State had the generous purpose to grant equal and exact justice to all the rest and to their people; to promote the welfare and prosperity of the people of all the States; and to secure the general welfare of all the inhabitants of the country through all the conditions and events of coming ages, and against the aggressions of all unjust demands upon their liberties by foreign or domestic powers. Each State was happily freed from all political jealousies, and earnestly desired so to balance the blessings of a more perfect Union that no friction or cause of discontent should ever arise that could not be remedied by the action of an important tribunal created by common consent.

The Government of the United States was intended to be the object of the pride and of the cordial support of all the people of all the States, instead of being a suspected invader of their reserved sovereign rights. Such encroachments were not then actually anticipated, but they were guarded against with the same care as if they were known to be premeditated, so as to make such conditions practically impossible in the future.

These high purposes and great principles were represented in the Convention by groups of delegates from each State, among whom there was no inferior person. They were all men of experience in personal affairs, in war and in peace; some of them being the admitted equals, in wisdom, education and talents, of the greatest men in the world.

There was no attempt to excel in personal or political leadership; nor was there any taint of covetousness of power—known under the misnomer of "honorable ambition"—or of money, which is the master sin of covetousness. The highest honors that history can bestow had already been won by these men, and it only remained for them to secure the fruits of their labors to themselves and the posterity of the people they represented.

This they did, under God's Providence, by "building wiser than they knew."

They accomplished the task of laying the foundations of free self-government by the people, upon principles of truth and justice that are imperishable. That government was, therefore, to be as perpetual as time. It was attempted to fence in these foundations with buttresses that would repel all efforts at in-

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vasion either from within the citadel or by outward assault, and this was done, chiefly, by ten Amendments of the original text of the Constitution before its ratification was secured. These Amendments are, mainly, organic laws of interpretation and construction of all grants of powers conferred, denied or reserved in the original text of the Constitution. Their mandate over such questions was made paramount.

There was scarcely a provision of the Constitution, or of the ten Amendments, that did not bear directly on the sovereignty of the States, then existing, or afterwards to be created; so that this element of Statehood was considered and weighed and settled to meet every future condition that could be foreseen or suggested to these great delegates.

Yet, they did not conceive that they had designated every power that might be necessary for the general welfare. They provided, however, that no exercise of power to meet new conditions should ever encroach upon the sovereign powers reserved to the States, through any action of the Government of the United States, nor that any State should voluntarily or negligently surrender any part of its sovereign powers to the National Government.

In the discussion of these subjects, each group of delegates, having in charge the sovereignty of their States was concerned to the extremest anxiety to provide every possible safeguard for these new, unprecedented and precious rights of the States and the liberties of their people. With this sacred task in hand, they scanned the future with the most critical caution.

In the levy of taxation, direct and in the form of tariffs upon imports and exports, they inserted in the text of the Constitution various provisions to protect the States and their ports of entry against unjust discriminations. In laws respecting immigration, bankruptcy, currency, representation in Congress, and in the Electoral College as well as in other national legislation, the rule of uniformity is prescribed.

The power of making treaties is vested in a special tribunal; as is the power of impeachment and the appointments to office, with express restrictions fixed in the text of the Constitution. The powers of originating bills of appropriations, of amending the Constitution in cooperation with the States; of declaring war, and of admitting States into the Union, are vested in Congress

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as separate and original powers, in which no other power can exercise lawful control.

And other designated powers were created in the Constitution, to which it is not important that reference should be made. They were intended to meet difficulties that might arise in the execution of the settled provisions of the Constitution, rather than to meet any new conditions that were not provided for in the text of that instrument.

It was as perfect as any plan could be that originates in human wisdom and is not copied from any existing model. In clearness of diction and in the harmony of expression it is as if it was the work of a single great author. In fact, it is the aggregation of thoughts that many minds had wrought into a splendid maturity, and it is the best collation of the settled results of the most practical and the best matured of the actual experiences of the leading men of all Christian nations.

Each of the thirteen groups of delegates was an Embassy from a Sovereign Power that had no superior among the Sovereign Powers of the world, and each Ambassador was fully conscious of his individual participation in the sovereign power that had been, for the first time in history, conferred upon him as a citizen of his State, and esteemed as the noblest human power the great trust that had been conferred upon him as a representative of the sovereignty of the State he represented.

History, in its crucial researches, has failed to attribute any selfish ambition to any delegate in that grand conclave of Ambassadors that was personal to himself or was unjust or ungenerous to any other State represented in the Convention; and the severest criticism has not revealed a serious imperfection in their great work.

It did not escape their keen foresight or their anxious care that in such a convention of sovereign States some great matters must be left to future adjustment, in which their respective sovereignties would be in disagreement. Their independence of each other, notwithstanding their intimate association in their work of conducting another sovereignty that is not independent of the States, but is their common agent and even their vassal, is perfect, and is so considered by every State that belongs to the Union.

There is no fact in the history of the Government that is

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more clearly defined or is more thoroughly respected than the independence of each State towards all the rest of the, now, forty-five States of the American Union.

If the fifteen Latin States of America were now assembled in convention to establish a common federal government, greater care could not be taken by them in adjusting their future relations as sovereigns than was observed in framing our "more perfect union."

In addition to the power of amending the Constitution, so as to provide against dissensions among the States two other powers of supreme importance were provided for in the text of the Constitution and the first ten Amendments, but were scarcely defined as to their scope and ultimate operation—except that they must, in every event, conform to our plan of government and to all the principles and provisions of the written Constitution. The preservation of these is a sacred national obligation that no man or State can legally violate.

These powers to meet the exigencies of "the more perfect union" are the rights of the States, by compact, to agree with each other as to anything lawful that may concern the welfare of two or more of the contracting parties, subject to the ratification of Congress.

Three illustrations of the value of these State rights are now claiming the attention and arousing the painful anxiety of the people of the entire country. They are cited, as instances of many other possible conditions, to show the vast benefits that are possible in the making of compacts between States.

The questions referred to, but not discussed, are: the necessity for uniform laws on the subject of marriage and divorce; of the enforcement of extradition of criminals between the States; and certain regulations in respect of the public health and the laws of quarantine.

These illustrations open an inquiry as to many matters where the differences of climate, industry and trade within this wide country are as variant as those of the countries in Europe and Asia that lie between the North Atlantic and the Equator in Africa. The adjustment of such differences among our forty-five sovereign States is quite possible under our Constitution, which gives the initiative to two or more States.

The illustrations given above are quite sufficient to prove the

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great value of this power to the States and the people of our wide domain. But a still more impressive fact concerns the general purpose and the wise provisions of our plan of a written organic law, in the grand and harmonious promotion of the general welfare through the initiative of the States. It is that the State and Federal Governments are so carefully united in their powers and duties that they are, at least, capable of the closest cooperation, and are so united in the grandest scheme of blessing to men and nations that their purpose should be one and inseparable to work together for good.

If the exercise of these special powers for good be requisite, it is an assurance of success that they should originate in the fountains of State sovereignty, rather than through the inferior sovereignty of the Federal Government, and in pursuance of a purpose of central aggrandizement. This destructive evil was grasped by the throat in the ten Amendments; but it has survived all efforts of extermination and is still the master, because it has behind it the raising and expending of the vast revenues of forty-five united sovereignties. But it is not now the purpose to discuss the oppressiveness of such evils, but to indicate the powers that must finally be employed to eradicate them.

The sovereignty of the States fully and properly executed is the cure for every usurpation that the Government of the United States may ever attempt.

JOHN T. MORGAN.

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# THE PESSIMIST'S PROGRESS: J.-K. HUYSMANS.

BY JAMES HUNEKER.

*"Ah! Seigneur, donnez-moi la force et le courage*
*De contempler mon cœur et mon corps sans dégoût."*
—BAUDELAIRE.

## I.

JORIS-KARL HUYSMANS has been called a mystic, a naturalist, a critic, an aristocrat of the intellect; he was all these, a mandarin of letters and a pessimist besides—no matter what other qualities persist throughout his work pessimism is never absent, his firmament is ever clotted with black stars. He had a mediæval monk's contempt for existence, contempt for the mangy flock of mediocrity; yet his genius drove him to describe its crass ugliness in phrases of incomparable and enamelled prose. It is something of a paradox that this man of picturesque piety should have lived to be the accredited interpreter, the distiller of its quintessence, of that elusive quality we name "modernity." The "intensest vision of the modern world," as Havelock Ellis puts it, Huysmans unites to the endowment of a painter the power of a rare psychologist, with a lycanthropic nature. A collective title for his books might be borrowed from Zola: *My Hatreds.* He hated life and its eternal *bêtise.* His theme, with variations, is a strangling Ennui. With those devoted sons of Mother Church, Charles Baudelaire, Barbey D'Aurevilly, Villiers de l'Isle, Adam and Paul Verlaine, eccentric sons whose actions so often dismayed their fellow worshippers of less genius, Huysmans has been affiliated. But he was not a poet nor, indeed, a man of imagination. He did not possess the novelist's talent. His was not the flamboyant genius of Barbey, nor had he the fantastic invention of Villiers. He seems closer to Baudelaire, rather by reason of his ironic, critical temperament than because of his creative gifts. Baudelaire's oriflamme was embroidered with preciously devised letters of

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gold which read: "Spleen and Ideal"; upon the emblematic banner of Huysmans this motto is "Spleen." His work at times seems like a prolongation in prose of Baudelaire's. And by reason of his exacerbated temper he became the most personal writer of his generation. He belonged to no school, and avoided, after his beginnings, literary groups or schools.

He is recording-secretary of the petty miseries and ironies of the life about him. Over ugliness he becomes almost lyric. "The world is a forest of differences." His pen, when he depicts an attack of dyspepsia or neuralgia, or the nervous distaste of an hypochondriac for meeting people, is like the triple sting of a hornet. He is the prose singer of neurasthenia, a Hamlet doubting his digestion. When he painted the *nuance* of rage and disgust that assails a middle-aged man at the sight of an underdone mutton chop his phrases are unforgettable. The tragedy of the gastric juices he has limned with a fulness of expression that lifts pathology to the dignity of art. A descendant of Flemish painters, sculptors, architects (Huysmans of Mechlin, the Antwerp-born painter of the seventeenth century is said to be a forbear), he inherited their powers of envisaging exterior life; those painters for whom flowers, vegetable markets, butcher-shops, tiny gentle Dutch landscapes, gray skies, skies of rutilant flames and homely details were surfaces to be passionately and faithfully rendered. This vision he has interpreted with pen instead of brush. He is a virtuoso of the phrase. He is a performer on the single string of self. He knows the sultry enharmonics of passion. He never improvises, he observes. All is willed and conscious, the cold-fire scrutiny of a trained eye, one keen to note the ignoble or any deviation from the normal. His pages are often sterile and smell of the lamp, but he has the candor of his chimera. Well has Remy de Gourmont called him an *eye*. In his prose, he sacrifices rhythmic variety and tone to color. His rhythms are massive, his color at times a furious fanfare of scarlet. Every word, like a note in a musical score, has its value and position. He intoxicates because of his marvellous speech, but he seldom charms. It is a sort of sinister verbal magic that steals upon you as this ancient mariner from the lower moral deeps of Paris fixes you with his glittering eye, and in his strangely modulated language tells tales of blasphemy and fish-wives' tales of half-forgotten rivers below

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the bed of the Seine, of dull cafés and dreary suburbs, of bored men and stupid women, of sordid, opulent souls, souls spongy and voluptuous, mean lives and meaner alleys—such an epic of ennui, mediocrity, bizzare sins, and neurotic, superstitious creatures was never given the world until Huysmans wrote "*Les Sœurs Vatard*" and "*A Rebours.*" Entire vanished districts of Paris may be reconstructed from his chapters. Zola declared, when Guy de Maupassant and Huysmans appeared side by side in "*Les Soirées de Medan,*" that the latter was the realist. However, it was not Huysmans who was to write the ideal ecclesiastical novel, but Ferdinand Fabre, in his "*L'Abbé Tigrane.*" Fabre was the lesser artist, yet the greater novelist of the two.

The unity of form and substance in Huysmans is a distinguishing trait. He had early mastered literary technique, and the handling of his themes varies but little. There are, however, two or three typical varieties of description which may be quoted as illustrations of his etched and jewel-like prose. A cow hangs outside a butcher-shop:

"As in a hothouse, a marvellous vegetation flourished in the carcass. Veins shot out on every side like the trails of bind-weed; dishevelled branch-work extended itself along the body, an efflorescence of entrails unfurled their violet-tinted corollas, and big clusters of fat stood out, a sharp white, against the red medley of quivering flesh."

Surely a subject for Snyders or Jan Steen.

Lèon Bloy somewhere describes Huysmans' treatment of the French language as "dragging his images by the heels or the hair up and down the worm-eaten staircase of terrified syntax." Huysmans, in "*A Rebours,*" had called M. Bloy "an enraged pamphleteer whose style was at once exasperated and precious." And magnificence of phrase in evoking a picture can go no further than the following—Englished by Arthur Symons—which shows us Gustave Moreau's Salome:

"In the perverse odor of perfumes, in the overheated atmosphere of this church, Salome, her left arm extended in a gesture of command, her bent right arm holding on the level of the face a great lotus, advances slowly to the sound of a guitar, thrummed by a woman who crouches on the floor. With collected, almost anguished countenance, she begins the lascivious dance that should waken the sleeping senses of the aged Herod; her breasts undulate, become rigid at the contact of the whirling necklets; diamonds sparkle on the dead whiteness of her skin, her bracelets, girdles, rings, shoot sparks; on her triumphal

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robes sewn with pearls, flowered with silver, sheeted with gold, the jewelled breast-plate, whose every stitch is a precious stone, bursts into flame, scatters in snakes of fire, swarms on the ivory-toned, tea-rose flesh, like splendid insects with dazzling wings, marbled with carmine, dotted with morning gold, diapered with steel blue, streaked with peacock green."

Gautier—who was for Huysmans only a prodigious reflector—Flaubert, Goncourt, could not have excelled this verbal painting, this bronze and baroque prose, which is both precise and of a splendor. And Huysmans can describe a herring as would a great master of sumptuous still-life:

"Thy garment is the palette of setting suns, the rust of old copper, the brown gilt of Cordovan leather, the sandal and saffron tints of the autumn foliage. When I contemplate thy coat of mail I think of Rembrandt's pictures. I see again his superb heads, his sunny flesh, his gleaming jewels on black velvet. I see again his rays of light in the night, his trailing gold in the shade, the dawning of suns through dark arches."

Or this invocation when Huysmans had begun to experience that shifting of moral emotion which we call his "conversion"—he was a Roman Catholic born, therefore was not converted; he but reverted to his early faith:

"Take pity, O Lord, on the Christian who doubts, on the sceptic who desires to believe, on the convict of life who embarks alone, in the night, beneath a sky no longer lit by the consoling beacons of ancient faith."

His method is not the recital of events, but the description of a situation; a scene; not a narration; but large tableaux. Action there is little; he is more static than dynamic. His characters, like Goncourt's, suffer from paralysis of the will, from hyperæsthesia. The soul in its primordial darkness interests him, and he describes it with the same penetrating prose as he does the carcass of a cow. He is a luminous mystic who speaks in terms of extravagant naturalism. His violent, vivid style so excellent in setting forth colored sensations is equally admirable in the construction of metaphors which make concrete the abstract. There is the element of the grotesque, of the old, ribald Fleming, in Huysmans, though without a trace of hearty Flemish humor. Nor is the pepper of sophistry absent. He sculptures his ideas. He is both morose and fulgurating. He squanders his emotions with polychromatic

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resignation unlike a Saint Augustine or a Newman, yet we are not deeply moved by soul-experiences. It is not vibrating sincerity that we miss; it would be wrong to question his return to Catholicism. He is more convincing than Tolstoy; for one thing, there was no dissonance between his daily life and his writings, after the publication of "*En Route.*" Lucid as is his manner, clairvoyant as the exposition of his soul at the feet of God, there is, nevertheless, an absence of unction, of tenderness, which repels. Sympathy and tenderness are *bourgeois* virtues for Huysmans. Too complicated to admire, even recognize, the sane or the simple, he remained the morbid carper after he entered La Trappe and Solesmes. As an oblate, his fastidiousness was wounded by the minor annoyances of a severe regimen; his stomach always ailed him. Perhaps to his weak digestion and a neuralgic tendency we owe the bitterness and pessimism of his art. He was not a normal man. He loathed the inevitable discords of life with a startling intensity. The venomous salt of his wit he sprinkles over the raw turpitude of men and women. Impassible as he was, he could be shocked into a species of sub-acid eloquence if the theme were the inutility of mankind. No Hebraic prophet, not Swift himself, ever launched such poignant phrases of disgust and horror at the world and its works. His favorite reading were the mystics, à Kempis, Saint Theresa, St. John of the Cross and the Flemish Ruysbroeck—the motto of "*A Rebours*" is taken from Ruysbroeck: "Needs must I rejoice beyond the age, though the world has horror of my joy and its grossness cannot understand what I would say."

In a new edition of "*A Rebours*" he has told us that he was not pious as a youth, having been educated not at a religious school. "*A Rebours*" came out in 1884, and it was in 1892 that he went to La Trappe. He confessed that he could not discover, during the eight intervening years, why he swerved to the Church of Rome. But his books do. Diminution of vital energy was not the chief reason for his reversion. The operation of "divine grace" in Huysmans' case may be dated back to "*A Rebours.*" The modulation by the way of art was not a difficult one. And he had the good taste of giving us his experiences in the guise of art. It is the history of *a* conversion, though he is, without doubt, the Durtal of the books. The final explosion of grace after years

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of unconscious mining, the definite illumination on some unknown road to Damascus, took place between the appearance of "*La Bas*" and "*En Route.*" We are spared the *technique* of faith reawakened. It had become part of his cerebral tissue. We are shown a Durtal, believer; also a Durtal profoundly disgusted with the oily, rancid food of La Trappe, and with the faces of some of his companions, and a Durtal who puffs surreptitious cigarettes. At Lourdes, in his last book, he is the same Durtal-Huysmans, grumbling at the odors of unwashed bodies, at the perspiring crowds, at the ignorance and cupidity of the shrine's guardians. A pessimist to the end. And for that reason he has often outraged the sensibilities of his co-religionists, who questioned his sincerity after such an exclamation as: "How like a rind of lard I must look!" uttered when he carried a dripping candle in a religious procession. But through the dreary mists of doubtings and black fogs of unfaith the lamp of the Church, a shining point, drew this hedonist from his chilly ecstasies to it. Like Taine and Nietzsche, he craved for some haven of refuge to escape the whirring wings of Wotan's ravens. And in the pale woven air he saw the cross of Christ.

Leslie Stephen wrote of Pascal: "Eminent critics have puzzled themselves as to whether Pascal was a sceptic or a genuine believer, having, I suppose, convinced themselves, by some process not obvious to me, that there is an incompatibility between the two characters." Huysmans may have been both sceptic and believer, but the dry fervor of the later books betrays a man who willingly humiliates and depreciates the intellect for the greater glory of God. His portrait of Simon the swineherd in "*En Route*" is mortifying to normal humans. Huysmans penetrates the husks and filth and sees only a God-intoxicated soul. Here is, indeed, the "treasure of the humble." At first, religion with Durtal was æsthetic, the beauty of Gothic architecture, the pyx that ardently shines, the bells that boom, the odors of frankincense that rolled through the nave of some old vast cathedral with flame-colored windows. In "*L'Oblat*" the feeling has widened and deepened. The walls of life have fallen asunder; the soul glows in the twilight of the subliminal self, glows with a spiritual phosphorescence; Huysmans is nearer, though not face to face with, God. The object of his prayer is the Virgin Mary; to the hem of her robe he clings like a frightened child at its mother's dress.

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All this may have been auto-suggestion, or the result of the "will to believe," according to the formula of Professor William James, yet it was satisfying to Huysmans, whose life was singularly loveless and secret. His terrible death-bed was the final test of his sincerity.

He was born on February 5th, 1848, at Paris, and died in that city on May 12th, 1907. He was educated at the Lyceum Saint-Louis. He contemplated the profession of law; but, at the age of twenty, he entered the Ministry of the Interior, where he remained until 1897, a model, unassuming official, fond of first editions, posters, rare prints and a few intimates. He went then to live at Ligugé, but returned to Paris after the expulsion of the Benedictines. He was elected first president of the Academy Goncourt, April 7th, 1900. He was nominated chevalier of the Legion of Honor, and given the rosette of officer by Briand, though Huysmans begged that he should have no military honors at his funeral. It was for his excellent work as a civil servant that he was decorated, and not as a man of letters. At the time of his death, his reputation had suffered an eclipse; he was distrusted both by Catholics and free-thinkers. But he never wavered. Attacked by a cancerous malady, he suffered the atrocious martyrdom of his favorite Saint Lydwine. Léon Daudet, François Coppée and Lucien Descaves were his unwearying attendants. At the last, he could still read the prayers for the dying. He was buried in his Benedictine habit. But what an artist perished in the making of an amateur monk.

"His face," said an English friend, "with the sensitive, luminous eyes, reminded one of Baudelaire's portrait, the face of a resigned and benevolent Mephistopheles who has discovered the absurdity of the divine order, but has no wish to make improper use of his discovery. He gave me the impression of a cat, courteous, perfectly polite, most amiable, but all nerves, ready to shoot out his claws at the least word." [Huysmans, like Baudelaire, was fond of cats; he valued them more highly than women.] When the present writer saw him several years ago in Paris, he was struck by the essentially Semitic contour of his head—some legacy of remote ancestors from the far-away Meuse.

## II.

To traverse the books of Huysmans is a true pessimist's prog-

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ress; from "*Le Drageoir aux Epices*" (1874) to "*Les Foules de Lourdes*" (1906), the note, at times shrill, often profound, is never one of dulcification. The first book, a veritable little box of spices, was modelled on Baudelaire's "*Poêmes en Prose,*" but revealed to the acute critic a new personal shade. Its plainness is Gallic, though actual lubricity is absent. That amusing, ironic sketch, "*L'extase,*" so often quoted, gives us a key-note to the writer's disillusioned soul. "*Marthe*" (1876) caused a sensation. It was speedily suppressed. "*La Fille Elise*" and "*Nana*" the public could endure; but the cold-blooded delineation of vice in this first novel was too much for the Parisian, who likes a display of sentiment or sympathy in the treatment of unsavory themes. Now, sympathy for sin or suffering is missing in Huysmans. Slow veils of pity never descend upon his sufferers. Like a surgeon who will show you a "beautiful disease," a "classic case," he exposed the life of the wretched Marthe, and, while he called a cat a cat, he forgot that certain truths are unfit for polite ears accustomed to the rotten-ripe Dumas *fils,* or the thrice brutal Zola. It was in "*Marthe*" that Huysmans proclaimed his adherence to naturalism in these memorable words: "I write what I see, what I feel and what I have experienced, and I write it as well as I can: that is all." This rubric he adhered to his life long, no matter his change of spiritual base. He also said that at bottom there were writers who have talent, and others who have not. All other details, schools, groups, cliques, whether romantic or naturalistic or decadent, do not count. He proved this by his own habits, those of an artistic solitary.

It was 1880 before Huysmans was again heard from, this time in collaboration with Zola, Guy de Maupassant, Henry Céard, Léon Hennique and Paul Alexis. "*Les Soirées de Medan*" was the inappropriate title of a book of interesting tales. Huysmans' contribution, "*Sac au Dos,*" is a story of the Franco-Prussian war that would have pleased Stendhal by its sardonic humor. The hero never reaches the front, but spends his time in hospitals, and the nearest he gets to the glory of war is a chronic stomach-ache. The variations on this ignoble motive showed the perverted malice of Huysmans. War is not hell, he says in effect, but dysentery is; how often a petty ailing has unmade a heroic soul. Naturally, in the face of Maupassant's

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brilliant "*Boule de Suif*," Huysmans' sly attack on patriotism was overlooked. "*Croquis Parisiens*" (1880) contains some specimens of Huysmans' astounding virtuosity. No one before has ever described sundry aspects of Paris with such verisimilitude. Balls, cafés, bars, omnibus-conductors, washerwomen, chestnut-sellers, hairdressers, remote landscapes and corners of the city, cabarets, "*la Bièvre*," the underground river, with prose paraphrases of music, perfumes, flowers—Huysmans astonishes by his prodigality of epithet and justness of observation. What Manet, Pissarro, Raffaëlli, Forain, were doing with oil and pastel and pencil, he accomplished with his pen of a magician. "*A Vau L'Eau*" followed in 1882. By some it is considered the typical Huysmans tale, and some see in Jean Folantin its unhappy hero, obsessed by the desire for a juicy beefsteak, the prototype of Durtal. Folantin is a poor employee in the ministry who must exist on his annual salary of fifteen hundred francs. He haunts cheap restaurants, lives in cheap lodgings, is seedy and sour, and with the nerves of a voluptuary. His sense of smell makes his life a nightmare. The sordid recital would be comical but that it is so villainously real. Dickens would have set us laughing over the woes of this Folantin, or Dostoiévsky would have made us weep—as he did in "*Poor Folk*." But Huysmans has no time for tears or laughter; he must register his truth, and at the end an odor of stale cheese exhales from the printed page. Wretched Monsieur Folantin! Of the official life so clearly presented in some of Maupassant's tales, we get little, Huysmans is too much preoccupied with Folantin's stomach troubles. In the same volume, though published first in 1887, is "*Un Dilemme*," which is a pitiful tale of a girl abandoned. Huysmans, while he came under the influence of "*L'Education Sentimentale*," seems to have taken as a *leit motif* the idiotic antics of Flaubert's "*Bouvard et Pécuchet*." This pair of mediocre maniacs were his models for mankind at large. "*Les Sœurs Vatard*" (1879), praised so warmly by Zola in "The Experimental Novel," is not a novel, but kaleidoscopic Parisian pictures of intimate low life, executed with consummate finish, and closeness to fact. The two sisters Vatard, Céline and Désirée, with their love affairs, fill a large volume. There are minute descriptions of proletarian interiors, sewing-shops full of perspiring girls, railroad-yards, locomotives and a gingerbread fair.



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The men are impudent scamps, bullies, *souteneurs,* the women either weak or vulgar. Veracity there often is and an air of reality—though these swaggerers and simpletons are silhouettes, not half as vital as Zola's Lise or Goncourt's Germine Lacerteux. But atmosphere, *toujours* atmosphere—of that Huysmans is the compeller. Not a disagreeable scene, smell or sound does he spare his readers.

We reach *bourgeois* life with *"En Ménage"* (1881). André and Cyprien the novelist and painter are not so individual as, say, old *père* Vatard in the preceding story. They but serve as stalking horses for Huysmans to show the stupid miseries of the married state; that whether a man is or is not married he will regret it. Love is the supreme poison of life. André is deceived by his wife, Cyprien lives lawlessly. Neither one is contented. The novel is careful in workmanship; it is like Goncourt and Flaubert, both gray and masterful. But it leaves a bad taste in the mouth. Like the early Christian fathers, Huysmans had a conception of Woman, "the eternal feminine of the eternal simpleton," which is not ennobling.

*"A Rebours"* ("Against the Grain") appeared at the psychologic moment. Decadence was in the air. Either you were a decadent or violently opposed to the movement. Verlaine had consecrated the word—hardly an expressive one. The depraved young Jean, duke of Esseintes, greedy of exotic sensations, who figures as the hero of this gorgeous prose-mosaic, is said to be the portrait of a Parisian poet, and a fashionable dilettante of art painted by Whistler. But there is more of Huysmans—the exquisite literary critic that is Huysmans—in the work. If, as Henry James remarks, "When you have no taste you have no discretion —which is the conscience of taste," then Huysmans must be acclaimed a man of unexampled tact. His handling of a well-nigh impossible theme, his "technical heroism," above all, his soul-searching tactics in that wonderful Chapter VII, when des Esseintes, suffering from the malady of the infinite, proceeds to examine his conscience and portrays for us the most fluctuating shades of belief and feeling—his touch here is sure, and casuistically immoral, as "all art is immoral for the inartistic." The chief value of the book for future generations of critics lies in Chapters XII and XIV. Huysmans's literary and artistic preferences are catalogued with delicacy and erudition. More

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Byzantine than Byzance, "*A Rebours*" is a storehouse of art treasures, and it was once the battle-field of the literary élite. It is a history of the artistic decadent, the man of disdainful inquietudes who searches for an earthly artificial paradise. The mouth orchestra which, by the aid of various liquors, gives to the tongue sensations analogous to music; the flowers and perfume concerts, the mock sea—all these are mystifications. Huysmans, the *farceur,* is enjoying himself. His liquor symphony he borrowed from *La Chimie du Goût* by Polycarpe Poncelet; from Zola, perhaps, his concert of flowers. The voyage to London is a veritable comic stroke. Fully prepared to face the rigors of the Channel, des Esseintes reaches the neighborhood of the Gare Saint-Lazare. Then he remembers how disenchanted he was with Holland. He enters an English chop-house. He drinks ale, he eats roast beef, Stilton cheese, and recalls scenes from Dickens. Exhausted, he returns home to his Thebaid, fairly saturated with English life and customs, though without fear of the usual reaction after foreign travel. "*A Rebours,*" notwithstanding Huysmans' later pilgrimage to Canossa, was never excelled. It is his most personal achievement. It also contains the most beautiful writing of this Paganini of prose.

"*En Rade*" (1887) did not attract much attention. It is not dull; on the contrary, it is very Huysmansish. But it is not a subject that enthrals. Jacques Marles and his wife have lost their money. They go into the country to live cheaply. The author's detestation of nature was apparently the motive for writing the book. There are episodes of fantasy and realistic descriptions of a calf's birth and a cat's agony that prove the one-time disciple of Zola had not lost his vision; the truth is, Zola's method is melodramatic, romantic, vague, when compared to Huysmans' implacable manner of photographing petty facts.

But in "*Là-Bas*" he takes a leap across the ditch of naturalism and reaches another, if not more delectable, territory. This was in 1891. A new manifesto must be made—the Goncourts had printed a bookful. Symbolism, not naturalism, is now the shibboleth. Huysmans declares that:

"It is essential to preserve the veracity of the document, the precision of detail, the fibrous and nervous language of Realism, but it is equally essential to become the well-digger of the soul, and not to

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attempt to explain what is mysterious by mental maladies. . . . It is essential, in a word, to follow the great road so deeply dug out by Zola, but it is also necessary to trace a parallel pathway in the air, another road by which we may reach the Beyond, to achieve thus a Spiritual naturalism."

And by a curious, a bizarre, route Durtal, the everlasting Durtal, sought to achieve spiritually—a spirituality *à rebours,* for it was by devil-worship and the study of Gilles de Rais of ill fame, that he reached his goal. We also study church bells, *incubi,* satanism, demons, witches, sacrileges of a *raffiné* sort; indeed, an enormous amount of occult lumber is dumped into the book, which is indigestible on that account. Diabolic lore *à la* Jules Dubois and other modern magi is profuse. That wicked lady, who is far from credible, Madame Chantelouve, flits through various chapters. Her final disappearance, one hopes "below"—like the devils in the pantomime—is received by Durtal and the reader with a sigh of relief. She is quite the vilest character in French fiction, and, as Stendhal would say, her only excuse is that she never existed. The Black Mass is painted by an artist adroit in the manipulation of the sombre and magnificent.

But "*Là-Bas*" proved a prophetic weather-vane. "*En Route*" in 1895 did not astonish those who had been studying the spiritual fluctuations of Huysmans. Behold the miracle! He is a believing Christian. Wisely the antecedent causes were tacitly avoided. "I believe," said Durtal, simply. Of superior interest is his struggle up the ladder to perfection. This painful feat is slowly accomplished in "*La Cathédrale*" (1898), "*L'Oblat*" (1903) and "*Lourdes*" (1906). And it must be confessed that the more pious grew M. Huysmans the less artist he—as might have been expected. What is his art to a man who is concerned not with the things of this world? He never lost his acerbity, nor his faculty for the phrase magical, though his sense of proportion gradually vanished. Luckily he is not saccharine like the majority of writers on religious topics. Ferdinand Brunetière complained that Flaubert was unbearably erudite in his three short stories—echoing what Sainte-Beuve had said of Salammbô years before. What must he have thought of that astonishing "Cathedral," with its chapters on the symbolism of architecture, sculpture, gems, flowers (Sir Thomas Browne and his quincunxes are fairly beaten from the field), vestments, sacred vessels of the

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altar and a multitude of mysterious things, hieroglyphics and dark liturgical riddles? There are ravishing pages, though none so solemn and moving as the description of the "*De profundis*" and "*Dies iræ*" in "*En Route.*"

For any one except the trailer after strange souls "The Oblate" is an affliction. Madame Bavoil, with her *notre ami,* is a chattering nuisance, withal a worthy creature. Durtal is always in the dumps. He speaks much of interior peace, but he gives the impression of a man sitting painfully amidst spiritual brambles. Perhaps he felt that for him after his Golgotha are the sweet-singing flames of Purgatory. We are not sorry when he returns to Paris. As for the book on "*Lourdes,*" it is like an open wound. A whiff from the operating-room of a hospital comes to you. We are, doubtless, edified by the childlike faith with which Huysmans accepts the report of cures that would stagger the most perfervid Christian Scientist. If Zola's "*Lourdes*" was a calamity, Huysmans' is a mistake. It is said that, at his request, his friends destroyed many of his manuscripts; if they were of the "*Lourdes*" kind let us be grateful. His "*Pages Catholiques*" and "*Sainte-Lydwine*" are hard reading, written by a man whose mysticism was a matter of rigid definition, a thing to be weighed and felt and verbally proved.

Of far more literary and critical worth are the three books, "*L'Art Moderne*" (1883), "*Certains*" (1889) and "*De Tout*" (1901). In collaboration with Léon Hennique, Huysmans contributed his share in a pantomime, "*Pierrot Sceptique*" (1881). "*L'Art Moderne*" is the most revolutionary volume of art criticism written during the last century. Baudelaire went far; he introduced Richard Wagner and Manet; but Huysmans went "further"—as the phrase goes. He championed such ultra-realists as Edgar Degas—he was the first to recognize his genius for depicting mercilessly the shivering, tired flesh of working-women; Raffaëlli, Monet, Pissarro, Gauguin, he wrote of, and many others. His *Salons* are models of elegant invective directed, not only against the academic group, but at their upholders and purchasers—chiefly American millionaires. In "*Certains,*" he exploits the talents of Moreau, Chéret, Whistler, Jan Luyken, Odilon Redon, Paul Cézanne—at a time when the last-named was howled down by critics and public. And in a remarkable study of Félicien Rops, he definitely "ranged" that unique

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etcher of erotic diabolism. The art criticism of Huysmans cannot be overestimated. And what a vocabulary! What powers of evocation! *"De Tout"* contains new *croquis,* with more variety as to place and subject. Fleming-like, he is less melodist than harmonist in these essays—and such acrid harmonies, polyphonic variations and fuguelike flights to the other side of good and evil.

George Moore was the first English-speaking critic to recognize Huysmans. He wrote that "a page of Huysmans is as a dose of opium, a glass of exquisite and powerful liquor." Frankly, it was his conversion that focussed upon Huysmans so much attention. No one may remain isolated in his century. He has never been a favorite with the larger Parisian public; rather, a curiosity, a spiritual ogre turned saint. And the saintship has been hotly disputed.

Huysmans was not a man of, what is so vaguely denominated, "general ideas." He was never interested in the chess-play of metaphysics, politics or science. He was a specialist, one who had ransacked libraries for curious details, despoiled perfumers' catalogues for their odorous vocables, pored over technical dictionaries for odd-colored words, and studied cook-books for savory terms. His gamut of sensations began at the violet ray. He was a perverse aristocrat who descended to the gutter there to analyze the various stratifications of filth; when he returned to his ivory cell, he had discovered, not humanity, but the anodyne of religion, the love of God. Thenceforth, he was interested in one thing—the saving of the soul of Joris-Karl Huysmans, and being a marvellous verbal artist, his recital of the event startled us, fascinated us. Renan once wrote of Amiel: "He speaks of sin, of salvation, of redemption and conversion, as if these things were realities." Let us rather imitate Sainte-Beuve, who said: "You may not cease to be a sceptic after reading Pascal, but you must cease to treat believers with contempt." And this injunction is not difficult to obey in the case of Huysmans, for whom the things derided by Renan were the profoundest realities of his tortured and troubled life.

JAMES HUNEKER.

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# WOMAN SUFFRAGE THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.

BY IDA HUSTED HARPER.

THE two most important events marking this question as a world movement were the meetings of the International Council of Women in Berlin in 1904 and the International Woman Suffrage Alliance in Copenhagen in 1906. The former, with delegates from twenty countries, instructed by their respective Councils, adopted a resolution that "this International Council advocates that strenuous efforts be made to enable women to obtain the power of voting in all countries where a representative government exists." As this Council comprises seven or eight millions of the leading women in the various countries, its action certainly is an answer to the oft-repeated statement that women do not want to vote. At the International Alliance in Copenhagen twelve countries reported as organized and working vigorously for the suffrage, and an international paper was established. Two countries have since been added, and in almost every one where the status of women has reached any degree of modern civilization, they are beginning to demand a voice in their own government.

The women of New Zealand have possessed the Municipal suffrage since 1886. In 1893, the Parliament conferred upon them the full franchise on exactly the same terms as required of men. There is scarcely a dissenting voice in the distinguished testimony as to the good effect of this on the women themselves and on the politics of the country. At a number of national elections a larger percentage of women than of men have voted.

This situation is duplicated in Australia. The women in its six States have had Municipal suffrage for twenty-five or thirty years. South Australia gave them the full State franchise in

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1895, and West Australia in 1899. The six States united in one Commonwealth in 1901, and one of the first acts of the new Government was to give all women the full Federal suffrage and the right to sit in the National Parliament. New South Wales then conferred the State suffrage in 1902, Tasmania in 1903, Queensland in 1905. In Victoria this vote is still withheld, having been vetoed fourteen times by the Upper House of the State Parliament after it had been passed by the Lower House, but indications now are that it will go through during the present session. At some elections not only a larger percentage, but actually a larger number of women than of men have voted. Last year in Tasmania women outnumbered the men at every polling-station. It is also everywhere apparent that they have roused the men to a new sense of their political duty.

Turning to Europe, there is the curious anomaly that in its two so-called republics the cause of woman suffrage is more backward than in almost any of the other countries. In Switzerland every man over twenty may vote. A National Woman Suffrage Association has lately been organized which is supported by many public men. Its president and secretary are members of Parliament and university professors fill other offices.

In France, all men twenty-one years old have the franchise. The National Council of Women, composed of 55 associations with about 70,000 members, has recently joined forces with the National Suffrage Union, thus assuring strong and systematic effort for the enfranchisement of women. In 1906, a Committee for the Defence of the Rights of Women was formed in the Chamber of Deputies, to secure the social, civil and political rights of women. A delegation of 150 from the National Woman Suffrage Union were received by this committee and permitted to make their plea for a Suffrage bill from the rostrum of the Chamber of Deputies. Its Chairman, M. Jean Jaurès, assured them that one would be presented. The Socialist Congress at Limoges instructed the Socialist members to introduce such a bill.

The eminent Baron d'Estournelles de Constant, French delegate to the Peace Congress in the United States, is a strong advocate of woman suffrage, as are many other noted men. The Catholics, who have always stood inflexibly against giving political rights to women, are now saying that, if women had possessed a vote, they would not have shown the indifference to the interests

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of the Church that men have, and Parliament would not have been able to bring about the separation of Church and State. The women have held themselves aloof from the suffrage societies, but last summer the secretary of the French Women's Catholic League wrote a letter to the International Suffrage Alliance in Copenhagen expressing deep sympathy with the cause—a most significant incident. Some of them have sent a petition to the Pope, through Marie Maugeret, editor of *"Féminisme Chrétien,"* and he has promised an answer. The Socialists, on the other hand, claim that the enfranchisement of the working-women would greatly strengthen their ranks, so it is not improbable that this may become a live issue in France in the near future.

In Belgium, practically every male citizen over twenty-five is a voter, but a plural system gives two or three votes to university graduates and to property-holders. A few years ago, there was a great uprising of the working-classes under the rallying-cry, "One man, one vote." Some progressive women undertook to have them demand "One person, one vote"; but, although this is a fundamental principle of Socialism, they refused absolutely. As the aristocracy is principally Catholic, its men considered the feasibility of enfranchising women in order to maintain its political power, and even went so far as to send an agent to the United States to examine the effects of woman suffrage here, but as the working-men have made no further demonstrations the matter has been allowed to rest. Miss Martina Kramers, editor of the international woman-suffrage organ, was invited by the University of Brussels to give a course of lectures last winter on the franchise for women. The Congress of Socialist Women has unanimously instructed the Socialist members of Parliament as to the introduction of a woman-suffrage bill.

In The Netherlands, all men over twenty-five who own any property whatever or pay rent may vote. The movement to obtain suffrage for women is well organized and advanced. The National Council is composed of 30 associations and about that many thousand members, with a section for politics and the franchise. The National Woman Suffrage Association, over twelve years old, is an influential body including women of all classes, creeds and politics. Its president is Dr. Aletta H. Jacobs, the first woman physician in Holland, whose husband was a member of Parliament for many years until his death.

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There has long been a favorable minority sentiment in Parliament, but the ministry was hostile. The Liberal element finally gained the ascendency and formed a coalition of forces whose first act was to create a Commission for revising the Constitution and broadening the suffrage for men. The Woman Suffrage Association at once appointed a committee to draft a Memorial, asking for an article providing that women should be admitted to the franchise on the same terms as men. The Prime Minister promised serious consideration and asked for testimony from places where women voted. The Commission has now published its recommendation that the word "male" be struck out before all paragraphs relating to election to office, six out of seven favoring this article. This would make women eligible to all Government positions, even to a seat in Parliament. The Ministry reserves to itself the privilege of making all changes in regard to electoral rights. The press is favorable to extending these to women, the Liberal and Social Democratic parties have woman suffrage in their platforms, and it is considered almost a certainty that the Government will put a clause for this purpose in the Constitution. This will go to the voters in 1909. The women of Holland, therefore, to influence public sentiment, have arranged that the International Woman Suffrage Alliance shall hold its convention there in June, 1908. They have little doubt that they will be enfranchised the following year.

The movement for woman suffrage in Denmark was greatly accelerated by the convention of the International Suffrage Alliance in Copenhagen last August. The excellent arrangements made by the Danish women, the parliamentary conduct of the meeting by the president of the Alliance, Mrs. Chapman Catt, of the United States, the addresses of the delegates from twelve countries, gave much dignity and prestige to the cause. The papers were unanimous in their praise and declared that it was manifest injustice to withhold longer the ballot from women. Danish women are very well organized. The National Council comprises 18 national societies. The old and important Danish Women's Association, formed in 1870, has 35 branches throughout the country, and its aim is to work for the suffrage. The National Suffrage Association proper has 16 auxiliary branches.

All men thirty years old may vote for the Lower House of Parliament. The Upper House is partly appointed by the King

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and partly elected by large taxpayers. Only taxpayers have the Municipal franchise. Women have no suffrage, and in this respect Denmark is far behind the other Scandinavian countries, behind even its own colony of Iceland. In recent years, the Lower House has been composed almost entirely of Liberals and Socialists; the Upper House remains strongly Conservative. The latter is willing to give the Municipal franchise to taxpaying widows and spinsters, but the Lower House demands it for all women. Several times it has passed such a bill, but always with a "rider" attached demanding some concessions for men, and this has caused the Upper House to reject it. The general opinion is, however, that a liberal Municipal franchise will soon be granted to women.

The Parliament of Iceland in 1882 gave to widows and spinsters who were householders or maintained a family or themselves, the right to vote for Parish and Town Councils and District Boards and Vestries. In 1902 they were made eligible to election to all the offices for which they could vote. The Government has just announced that it will present a bill for their full suffrage.

Germany was stirred from centre to circumference by the International Council of Women which met in Berlin in 1904. The recognition extended by the Emperor and members of his Cabinet and by the Municipality gave it such great prestige that all progressive movements among German women received a strong impetus. They have great genius for organizing, but are prevented by law in most of the States from forming any associations of a political nature, which includes those asking for the franchise. The German National Council of Women is composed of nearly 200 societies with about 100,000 members, and yet they feared even to adopt a resolution in favor of woman suffrage lest the Government should dissolve the organization; but they finally ventured to do this. Women were prohibited in Prussia and many of the other States from attending political meetings; but last year, after their repeated protests, the Reichstag abrogated the law, stipulating, however, that they must sit apart from the men.

The Reichstag is elected by universal male suffrage, but the Bundesrath, or Upper House, is appointed. In the three "free cities," and in some of the States which permit it, women have

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now organized suffrage associations and are endeavoring to resuscitate the ancient laws which in various States allow Municipal suffrage to women property-holders, and the question has gone to the Supreme Court. Women lawyers have discovered that the fundamental law of Prussia declares the right of both sexes to be equal unless exceptions are expressly declared. In the statutes relating to the State and Municipal suffrage, only "persons" are referred to and no exceptions are made; thus, apparently, hundreds of thousands of women are entitled to vote. A League of Evangelical Women and a League of Catholic Women are now demanding the suffrage, while the Social Democratic Women, supposed to be several million in number, are making it a part of their programme.

The first vote on woman suffrage in a German Parliament took place in Bavaria in December, 1905, when the Constitution was revised to give universal suffrage to men, and the women petitioned to be included. Their petition was supported by all the Socialists, half of the Liberals and one-fourth of the Clerical party, but the remaining three-fourths of the last-named party were sufficient to defeat it. This precipitated a vigorous discussion in Catholic circles, and their leading paper in South Germany has declared within a few months that the laws of the Church do not forbid the enfranchisement of women, and that social and economic development makes it desirable. At the last annual meeting of the Socialists the women demanded definite action, and, after a ringing speech by August Bebel, they adopted a resolution to make this henceforth a part of their political struggle. The Liberal party, after a heated debate, refused, at the dictation of their leaders, to indorse a resolution even for Municipal suffrage. There is no immediate prospect of women's enfranchisement in Germany, but the demand for it among the women themselves is growing stronger every year.

The obstacles in the way of the women of Austria seem almost insuperable. It is composed of seventeen provinces, besides Hungary; the people speak at least eight languages, and concerted action for any reform is all but impossible. A law was enacted in 1852 granting to men the right to form political organizations, but specifically forbidding this to women. There are many educated, capable and progressive women in Austria, and when, in 1902, they wanted to form a

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National Council, they could only get the requisite permission from the Government by showing that it was in no sense of a political nature. It is composed of 36 societies representing over 13,000 women. When last year they saw a measure about to be enacted to grant universal suffrage to men and to exclude all women, they felt that some action was imperative. They could form Independent Committees on Woman Suffrage, which was done, and they have held mass conventions and sent petitions to Parliament. They invited Mrs. Chapman Catt to come to Austria at the close of the International Suffrage Convention in Copenhagen, and she went in September, accompanied by Dr. Jacobs, president of The Netherlands Association. They addressed large meetings at Prague in Bohemia, at Brunn, capital of Moravia, and at Vienna. Here every inch of standing-room was occupied in the great hall by people of all classes, many members of Parliament being present. The addresses were followed by a discussion of two hours, no one speaking in direct opposition. The visitors were astonished at the strength of the movement throughout the provinces.

The question of granting the franchise to women was several times debated in the Lower House. The Minister of the Interior stated that the strong demonstrations in favor of it had been made a subject of earnest consideration by the Government, but he doubted if it were wise to make a trial of it at the moment of so important a political evolution. A few of the radical members favored it, but Dr. Victor Adler, leader of the Socialists, declared that, while his party stood for the equal political rights of women, he thought the reform entirely impracticable at that time. The bill finally adopted gave the franchise to all men. The first election has now taken place under the new law and has resulted in a tremendous Socialist victory which insures a commanding vote in the next Parliament. The Committee of Socialist Women, with the approval of Dr. Adler, have proposed that, at the coming International Congress in Stuttgart, woman suffrage be made a distinct issue in its programme, and it is thought this will be done. Now that universal suffrage for men has been obtained in Austria, there is a probability that they will make an effort for the enfranchisement of women.

A petition for woman suffrage signed by 24,000 Czecks, men and women, sent to the Parliament of Bohemia, has been referred

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to the next session, which is to reform the electoral law. The one proposed gives taxpaying women a somewhat extended franchise, but excludes all women from the Municipal suffrage which it confers on all men. The women will insist upon having this also.

Hungary has a National Council of Women composed of about 70 associations, and, soon after the Berlin meeting of 1904, a few who had been in attendance there formed a Suffrage Society which has done an amazing amount of work. The question of woman suffrage had been agitated among men since they began the struggle for their own electoral rights in 1903, and the Hungarian idol, Francis Kossuth, had declared that the Independent party was morally bound to support it. In a short time, however, the political situation became one of indescribable chaos, and the women finally learned that not one of the "reform" parties would take up their cause when it came to the test. Lately, the Society of Women Clerks, Bookkeepers, Stenographers, etc., numbering 1,500, has petitioned Parliament, demanding in the name of taxpaying women the right to vote. A great demonstration in Budapest was attended by women of all ranks and vocations. Women took a prominent part at the last election, many of the candidates publicly advocated woman suffrage, and of the nine elected from Budapest five have announced themselves in favor of it. By urgent invitation Mrs. Chapman Catt and Dr. Jacobs extended their speaking tour to Budapest, where they held three largely attended and enthusiastic meetings. One was under the auspices of the Free Masons. The electoral laws will probably be revised soon, and there is a vigorous movement for universal suffrage for men. The women are preparing to press their claims for inclusion in whatever measure may be adopted.

In Italy, with some educational and property qualifications, all men over twenty-one may vote for the Lower House of Parliament. The National Council of Women, composed of over 60 federated societies, in 1904 voted almost unanimously in favor of both the Municipal and Parliamentary franchise. In 1905, the Woman Suffrage Association of Rome organized committees in all parts of Italy and began systematic, aggressive work. Various newspapers have come to their support and a number of distinguished statesmen, jurists and university professors have

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become outspoken advocates of the movement. The question was carried to Parliament and discussed by the Chamber of Deputies February 25th, the galleries being crowded with women. The discussion was dignified and spirited, both Conservative and Radical members speaking in its favor, and finally it was referred to the Minister of the Interior, the most favorable disposition which the regulations allowed. It is the intention of men and women to carry on an active campaign.

Russia had no national suffrage for men until the Duma was created in 1905. In local government of the villages, women, married and single, have certain voting rights and sometimes hold office, as many own property and carry on business. When the war with Japan brought on the vast revolution and men began to strive for political rights, progressive women at once threw themselves into the conflict and made their demand to be included in the proposed universal suffrage. In Moscow, they organized a Union for Women's Rights which affiliated at once with the Union of Men's Associations, and later all were merged into the great body known as the Union of Unions, which counts its members by the hundred thousands. They have found the desire for a voice in their government strong among all classes of women, but especially among the peasants. Nothing could be more touching than the petition sent to the Duma by the peasant women of the three villages of Tver, begging that they should have the same rights as the men. "Till now," they said, "even though we were beaten sometimes, still we decided various matters together. . . . Have pity on us in the name of God! We had formerly the same rulers as our husbands; now our husbands are going to write the laws for us."

Alexis Aladyin, leader of the peasant party in the first Duma, who has lately been in the United States, declares that the press despatches saying the peasant members were opposed to woman suffrage were wholly untrue. He says there was not one opposing vote or voice among them. With the exception of that of the extreme Conservatives, woman suffrage has been placed in the platform of all the political parties, Constitutional Democrats, Labor, Social Revolutionists, People's Socialists, etc., and women are members of their central committees. Many of the leaders of the Octoberist or Conservative party favor it. The Zemstvos and Municipalities in all parts

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of Russia have indorsed it, and some of them permitted women to vote for the body which elected members of the Duma. The proposed constitution for self-government in Poland gives women the vote for Zemstvo members. A meeting of 4,000 university professors and students voted unanimously for woman suffrage; the National Medical Congress of 1,200 Russian physicians did the same, and there was scarcely a dissenting voice in the national associations of the various professions and trades which make up the great League of Leagues. If the second Duma had been allowed to finish its session, there was a most encouraging prospect that it would enact a law enfranchising women.

An occurrence in Armenia has great significance as showing the unmistakable tendency toward equal rights for women. There the ancient Oriental Church, occupying a position about halfway between the Greek and the High Episcopal Churches, is almost supreme in government. Last year, the Catholicos, its venerable head, issued a proclamation giving the Church a constitution and committing the management of its affairs henceforth to a general assembly of delegates, to be elected by all the members over twenty-one years old. At once the question was asked whether this included women, whereupon he issued a second edict declaring that not only might women vote for these delegates, but they might also be elected themselves. The most influential Armenian paper in Russia, the "Workman," published at Tiflis, in a column editorial expressed joy over this act and a hope that it would lead to woman's political liberty.

The great victory for woman suffrage in 1906 was won in Finland, when women were enfranchised on exactly the same terms as men and made eligible to all offices, including seats in Parliament. This gives the vote at once to about 300,000 women. Preceding and during the revolution, in the attempt to throw off the Russian yoke, the women shared with the men the work, the hardships and the dangers; and, when the triumph came, there was not a thought on the part of men of excluding women from any portion of the rewards, the most important of which was the suffrage. But they themselves had long been preparing the ground. The Finnish Women's Association to work for equal rights was founded in 1884 by Baroness Alexandra Gripenberg and never ceased its efforts. In 1892 the Woman's Alliance Union was organized, more democratic and aggressive in its

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character. In November, 1904, when the revolutionary spirit was surging, this Union called the first public meeting for woman suffrage ever held in Finland; it was attended by more than a thousand women and hundreds more could not gain admission. Forty-seven addresses of sympathy signed by hundreds of women came from all parts of the country. A resolution was adopted declaring for universal suffrage, and another, addressed to the Diet, or Parliament, demanding the full franchise and eligibility to office for women. After the vast national strike in the autumn of 1905, while a body of leading men were drawing up a Declaration of Rights to be presented to the Tsar, Dr. (Miss) Tekla Hulsin, a member of the National Bureau of Statistics, made an eloquent plea in behalf of the women, and they were included in its demand for universal suffrage. When this document was laid before the Tsar, he sent for Senator Mechelin, leader of the Diet, to confer with him as to the advisability of taking so radical a step as enfranchising women. The Senator warmly advocated this, declaring that the nation demanded it. The Tsar signed it in November, giving his consent to the proposed reforms. Immediately the women set to work, lecturing, organizing, getting up petitions, and finally held another huge mass-meeting in Helsingfors, demanding that the Diet carry out this measure. All of the political parties put it in their platforms. On May 28th, 1906, the Diet with only one dissenting vote passed the bill giving the suffrage to all men and women twenty-four years old. This was signed by the Tsar on July 20th.

The first election has recently been held, the women showing as keen an interest as the men, and in many places voting in a larger proportion. They were on the executive committees of all parties and were placed on all tickets as candidates for Parliament. Nineteen were successful—the first women in all time to be elected to a national representative body.

In Norway, since 1897, all men over twenty-five years old have enjoyed the right to exercise the Parliamentary suffrage. The women had been making an organized effort for the franchise since 1885, supported by large petitions. When in 1901 it was proposed to abolish all property qualifications and give every man the Municipal vote, the women protested vigorously against any further enlargement which did not include them. The Government finally abolished all property requirements for



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men, and admitted all women to the Municipal franchise who pay taxes on property to the value of $75 in the country and $110 in cities. It also made them eligible to serve on Common Councils. At the first election, in some towns 90 per cent. of the women voted; 98 were elected as members of Councils and 160 as substitutes, and they continue to serve on Councils.

In 1905, although the women were barred from an official vote on the separation from Sweden, they took an informal ballot and presented to Parliament nearly 300,000 names in favor of separation. (The men's vote was about 368,000.) This undoubtedly had a favorable influence; for, when they presented their petition this year for the full suffrage, and asked if Norwegian men would prove less magnanimous than Finnish, their question was made a Government measure. The Storthing could not quite be persuaded to give them universal suffrage, although a change of fourteen votes would have done so, but the Parliamentary franchise was granted to all who pay taxes on an income of $84 in the country and $113 in cities. Wives can vote on the husband's income, and even domestic servants will have an income large enough to entitle them to vote. About 350,000 are enfranchised by the new law, and they will soon have enough influence in Parliament to repeal the property qualification.

The question of women suffrage in Sweden is well advanced. Since 1862, widows and single women have had the municipal franchise on the same terms as men, and in 1904 this right was extended to married women who pay taxes on their own property. Women vote on matters connected with the State (Lutheran) Church. The only franchise withheld is that for members of Parliament. Sweden has had an ancient and unjust system of voting, which disfranchised a very large proportion of the men, but a bill has just been passed giving full suffrage to all men twenty-four years old.

Since 1900, the women have been well organized and have made a vigorous campaign. They have nearly one hundred active suffrage societies, and last October the King received about fifty delegates from these. He expressed deep sympathy with their movement, but said he feared the inclusion of women in the pending bill for enlarging male suffrage would endanger its chances, and he was very desirous that it should succeed. They then collected 141,121 signatures of Swedish

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women in all parts of the country to a petition asking for the franchise on the same terms as applied to men, and presented it to Parliament. The Government intimated to them very strongly that in the near future it would promote their claim, and a bill was passed making them eligible to all municipal offices, and removing all tax qualifications for Municipal suffrage. The Social Democratic party have put into their platform votes and eligibility to office for women. It is evident that the way is at last clear for their full suffrage, but the strongest incentive towards it is the action just taken by Norway. The women share equally with the men the rivalry between the two nations. They will bitterly resent the fact of Norwegian women's possessing a voice in Government which is denied to them, and it is likely this feeling will be shared by Swedish men. There is every probability that Sweden will enfranchise women in the very near future.

Every part of the British Empire has some form of woman suffrage. In the Isle of Man, widows and spinsters, since 1881, have voted for all officials, including members of the House of Keys, or Parliament. In the recent organization of the Government of South Africa, there was considerable effort to secure representation for women, the new Premier, General Botha, strongly urging it. The Parliament of Great Britain would not allow it because of the great advantage it would give to the Boers, as there are comparatively few English women in South Africa. The only concession made was to give the Municipal franchise to the women of Natal.

In all of the nine provinces of Canada, widows and spinsters have had for years either School or Municipal suffrage or both, and in the Northwest Provinces all women have both on the same terms as men. The agitation for the full franchise has had able supporters, but has not been very strong or well organized until in recent years. Last year various suffrage advocates formed a deputation to wait upon the new Premier and ask his influence for a Parliamentary Franchise bill. They were supported by the Speaker of the House, the Mayor of Toronto, the chancellor of the university and other prominent men. The Premier assured them that they were asking only for what was their right, but that their position had been assigned by the Infinite and it was not for a statesman to try to change that plan.

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The National Council of Women, the strongest organization in Canada, has just created a standing committee on political equality, which will cooperate with the Suffrage Association. If Great Britain should give the full franchise to women, its Canadian colony could not consistently refuse it, especially with those of Australia and New Zealand in full possession of this right.

The storm centre of woman suffrage at the present moment is in Great Britain. When in 1869 the Municipal ballot was secured to women by act of Parliament, and later the District and County vote was added, it was supposed the Parliamentary franchise would soon follow, but the efforts of forty years have proved unavailing. The suffrage for men has been gradually enlarged, until now only a very small property qualification, or the payment of about one dollar a week rent, is required. Even these requirements the Independent Labor Party proposes to abolish in its Adult Suffrage Bill to enfranchise all men.

For a quarter of a century, a strong, well-organized National Suffrage Union has worked in a thorough and systematic manner for the Parliamentary franchise. Its president is Mrs. Fawcett, wife of the former Postmaster-General, and the president of the central or London branch is Lady Frances Balfour, sister-in-law of the ex-Premier. They have held great mass-meetings, gathered immense petitions and labored persistently in an earnest but dignified way. Before the last general election in 1906, the Union took a poll of the candidates, and 420, a majority, were returned pledged to vote for woman suffrage. Early in the session, nearly 200 members of Parliament, and many organizations of women, petitioned Premier Campbell-Bannerman to receive a deputation to urge action by the present Liberal Government. He received a delegation of about 300, composed of all classes, while hundreds marched up and down outside. They presented a memorial representing about 400,000 women.

Meanwhile, the Independent Labor party had become a powerful factor, and under the lead of Keir Hardie it stood for the enfranchisement of women. The Women's Social and Political Union was formed in Manchester, as an auxiliary of this party, to further the interests of its candidates. Its founders were ardent advocates of the suffrage and kept this question to the front. The great Trades Unions among women, who for years had been sending to Parliament huge petitions for the franchise,

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gave allegiance to this new body. By 1905 it placed woman suffrage before all other questions, moved its headquarters to London and invited women of all political affiliations to join in the movement. This invitation was accepted and the militant campaign was mapped out, which it is hardly an exaggeration to say has startled the civilized world. While at first all Great Britain was dreadfully shocked, public sentiment has now in a large degree veered around in favor of these aggressive methods. The spectacle of nearly 200 women thrown into prison for demanding their political rights has appealed to the British love of fair play. Petitions signed by 73,384 women textile workers, and by 133 trade and labor unions representing more than 100,000 women wage-earners, have been sent to Parliament asking that they may have a vote to protect their interests. They have stirred the old suffrage society to more vigorous action and, a short time ago, under its auspices, all classes of women, to the number of several thousand, factory workers, university graduates, clubwomen, members of the nobility, marched through the principal streets of London and held a mass-meeting in Exeter Hall. Now they are circulating a petition for the franchise headed by those prominent in all lines of activity, which has been signed by tens of thousands of women who are working for support or for the public welfare.

On March 8th, the Suffrage Bill came up in the House. With so large a majority pledged in its favor, the only hope of defeating it was through the old tactics of talking it to death. The Speaker refused to entertain a motion for closure, and it was thus prevented from coming to a vote. Premier Campbell-Bannerman favored the bill. The Scottish Liberal Association, at its last convention, voted unanimously for enfranchising women. There is a strong committee in Parliament for advancing this cause composed of seventy Liberals, its chairman being Sir Charles McLaren, nephew of John and Jacob Bright, and its secretary, the Hon. Geoffrey Howard, son of the Countess of Carlisle, so long president of the great Women's National Liberal Federation, and herself an advocate of woman suffrage. Nothing can be done by the Liberals, however, while the Speaker and most of the Cabinet are hostile.

The Independent Labor Party has two grievances against the Women's Social and Political Union which has been making so

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valiant a fight—first, for declaring itself an independent organization, inviting women of all political opinions to its ranks and claiming the right to oppose candidates of any party, even the Labor, if they do not favor the franchise for women; second, for refusing to merge its demands in the Adult Suffrage Bill and insisting on a separate Woman Suffrage Bill. However, at its April Conference, the delegates declared for "the immediate extension of the franchise to women."

This is the uncertain situation in Great Britain at the present time. Meanwhile, the National Suffrage Society is putting forth heroic efforts, and the "suffragettes" are holding from twenty to thirty meetings a week throughout the country. There is so large a public sentiment in favor of giving the franchise to women, and its advocates are so numerous, able and determined, that the general opinion is it will be granted within a few years, unless some great Parliamentary changes take place.

In Japan, there is an extensive agitation for more rights among the women of the upper classes. In India, the cultured Parsee women are insisting on the local suffrage possessed by men. Even in Persia, the educated women of Iran are asking a vote for members of the newly established Representative Assembly. In all the evolution and revolution which are taking place in various parts of the world at the opening of the Twentieth Century, there is no more significant feature than this almost universal movement on the part of women for a voice, a vote and a share in the Government under which they live.

To present adequately the status of the question of woman suffrage in the United States would require a separate article. The conditions for securing it are harder and more complicated here than in any other country, for in all others it is only necessary to win over a majority of the members of the Parliament. In the United States there are forty-five Parliaments to be reckoned with, and that is only the beginning; for, when a majority of their members have been enlisted, they can only submit the question to the electors. It encounters then such a conglomerate mass of voters as exists nowhere else on the face of the earth, and it is doubtful if under similar conditions women could get the franchise in any country on the globe. Principally for this reason they have not succeeded here, though they have worked longer and harder than those of any other nation—almost than

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of all others combined. Nevertheless, four States have fully enfranchised women, there is unquestionably a large favorable increase of public sentiment among both men and women, and it would be quite possible to demonstrate that there are substantial grounds for encouragement and expectation of an ultimate general victory. It does not, however, tend to stimulate an American woman's national pride to reflect that this may be the last of civilized countries to grant to women a voice in their own government. And let this fact be remembered—it is the only one where women have been left to fight this battle alone, with no moral, financial or political support from men.

IDA HUSTED HARPER.

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# THE GREAT OBSTACLE IN THE WAY OF A REUNION OF CHRISTENDOM.

BY PROFESSOR CHARLES A. BRIGGS, D.D.

It is a happy circumstance that so eminent, broad-minded and warm-hearted a prelate as the Archbishop of St. Paul should undertake to comment on my article in this REVIEW, "The Real and Ideal in the Papacy,"* and to answer the question, "Is the Papacy an Obstacle to the Reunion of Christendom?" We agree that the ideal Papacy is one of the chief principles in the unity of Christendom; we disagree in the question whether it is the only principle; and also whether the real Papacy, as it has existed in Christian history since the separation of the Eastern Church and the Western, and especially since the separation of the Protestant Churches from the Papal dominion, has been an obstacle to the reunion of Christendom.

The answer of the Archbishop of St. Paul to this question is in the most irenic spirit, and with a disposition to make all the concessions that he can properly make in view of his doctrine of the Papacy. These concessions are, indeed, so many and so valuable as to make it evident that irenic Roman Catholics and irenic Protestants are not so far apart as is commonly supposed.

It is first necessary to discuss the difference between us in our conception of the ideal Papacy. I regret that I cannot accept the statement of my critic when he says:

"Peter holds the keys of the Kingdom: he is the absolute master. Whatsoever he binds is bound; whatsoever he looses is loosed; his power extends over the whole sphere of the Kingdom, over all its activities; it is shortened by no power or right confided to others."

* Professor Briggs's article, "The Real and the Ideal in the Papacy," was published in the REVIEW dated February 15, 1907; Archbishop Ireland's rejoinder, entitled "Is the Papacy an Obstacle to the Reunion of Christendom?" appeared in the REVIEW dated April 5, 1907. The publication of Dr. Briggs's present article, which was written shortly after the latter date, has been unavoidably delayed.—ED. N. A. R.

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I fully recognize the primacy of St. Peter and his successors in the possession of the keys of the Kingdom, but not their exclusive possession of this authority. How can any one do so in face of the words of Jesus to the Apostles and to the Church? Jesus said, not only to St. Peter, but to all the Apostles and through them to their successors:

"Receive the Holy Spirit; whosesoever sins ye remit, they shall be remitted; whosesoever sins ye retain, they shall be retained" (John 20: 22, 23).

At an earlier date Jesus had said:

"If thy brother shall trespass against thee, go and tell him his fault between thee and him alone: if he shall hear thee, thou hast gained thy brother. But if he will not hear thee, then take with thee one or two more, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses every word may be established. And if he shall neglect to hear them, tell it unto the church: but if he neglect to hear the church, let him be unto thee as an heathen man and a publican. Verily I say unto you, Whatsoever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven" (Matthew 18: 15-18).

In the great commission, on which the authority of the Christian ministry chiefly depends, Jesus did not give the authority to St. Peter alone, but to the entire Apostolate and its successors, when he said:

"All authority is given to me in heaven and on earth. Go ye, therefore, and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them into the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit; teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you, and, lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world" (Matthew 28: 18-20).

It is evident, therefore, that the power of St. Peter and his successors was shortened by power and right given to the Apostolic ministry, and to the Church. Therefore, I said: "The three constituents necessary to complete unity are the Pope, the ministry and the people, a threefold cord that should not be broken." The learned Archbishop recognizes: "That there is in Christian unity a threefold element is true in a sense. The Papacy, the ministry and the people make up the Church; the Papacy cannot be thought of without ministers and without people, any more than in any organism the head can be thought of without members." But here his metaphor misleads him, when he says:

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"but that a portion of the ministry, or a portion of the people, cut off from the Papacy, can still hold that they are within the lines of Christian unity is no more conceivable than would be the claim that certain members, separated from the head or trunk, no longer deriving from the head the current of life and motion, are still parts of the physical organism." To this it might be said that the current of life and motion does not in the human body come from the head, but from the heart in the body, and that the head is rather dependent upon the body than the body on the head; in fact, neither can exist without the other. But a society, whether Christian or otherwise, is something more than the physical organism of the human body. Such a society, as history and experience show, may exist without an executive, or even without a ministerial body. The only thing that is absolutely essential is the people that constitute its membership. They may combine in themselves all the functions of government, except so far as they may delegate these to temporary representatives. For a social organism the head is the least important of the three; the head and ministry will perish without the people, but the society may live on without them if such a necessity should arise.

Surely it is going to the brink of dangerous error to say that the condition of membership in the visible body of the Church "is union with the Pope, the successor of Peter"; and that "priests and bishops they may be, validly ordained, deriving their sacred character from Christ, through Apostolic succession; yet, they are not of the Church, unless they are with Peter and of Peter." For the Catholic doctrine is that a valid baptism is the mode of entrance into the Church; and all that are baptized, in the name of the Holy Trinity by the use of water, are members of the Church and are subject to its discipline, whether heretics or not. And all who are "validly ordained, deriving their sacred character from Christ through Apostolic succession," are bishops and priests of the Church and subject to its jurisdiction, even if schismatic and rebellious. I cannot understand how a Roman Catholic prelate can take any other position.

Even if the Greeks, Orientals, and Protestants of every name, be heretical and schismatic, contumacious and rebellious, they yet are baptized members of Christ's Church, and at least a large part of them have a ministry validly ordained, as Rome

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admits. Much the larger part of the Christian Church is separated from Rome. The successor of St. Peter rules over only a minority of the Christian Church. These separated Christians are organized as Christian Churches; they have multitudes of baptized Christians submitting to the government of an Apostolic ministry; they have, therefore, two of the three principles of unity given by Jesus Christ. The absence of the third principle, however important it may be, is not so essential that it destroys altogether the unity of Christ's Church. We are entitled to raise the question whether the Papacy does not in fact violate the unity of the Church still more than they, when it absorbs into itself, as an absolute despotism, not only its own historic rights, but also those of the episcopate and of the Christian ministry and people.

The primitive Church does not favor, but condemns with no uncertain voice, the claim for an unlimited jurisdiction of the Pope. The bishops of Asia did not recognize the sovereignty of the Pope, when he strove to impose upon the Orient the Roman custom of the celebration of Easter; nor did Irenæus of Gaul, when, as Eusebius tells us, "he fittingly admonished Victor." Victor was in this respect guilty of an intrusion into the rights and privileges of the bishops of Asia. Dionysius, the Bishop of Alexandria, writes to the Bishop of Rome as to a brother, seeking his advice; not as to a superior looking for a command. Cyprian had very exalted ideas as to the episcopate and the Roman see, but he refused absolute authority. He said: "For neither did Peter, whom first the Lord chose, and upon whom He built His Church, when Paul disputed with him afterwards about circumcision, claim anything to himself insolently, nor arrogantly assume anything so as to say that he held the primacy, and that he ought to be obeyed by novices and those lately come" (Ep. VII: 1-3).

The Popes now claim the exclusive right to summon Christian Councils; but all the primitive Councils, all those recognized as valid by other Christian Churches than Rome, were summoned by the Emperors and not by the Popes; and none of them recognized the supreme legislative and judicial function of the Popes; but exercised these functions themselves, even to the extent of condemning a Pope as heretical.

There is room for difference of opinion as to the rights and

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wrongs in the divisions of the Church. Candid historians, who rise above prejudice, whether Catholic or Protestant, recognize faults on both sides; but the fundamental fault in all these cases was, if I mistake not, the claim for unlimited jurisdiction by the Popes, and the pressing of that claim to intolerable despotism. It cannot be conceded that: "In the Orient, the cause was pride and ambition in Photius, first, and, later, in Michael Cærularius;" although we admit the "unconquerable jealousy of 'Old Rome' in Emperors and courtiers of the 'New Rome,'" not, however, without cause in the ever-increasing pretensions of the Popes. It is far from the facts of history to say that: "In Germany, the preaching of Tetzel and the '*Gravamina*' counted for less, as causes, than the personal waywardness and recklessness of character of Martin Luther, and the political ambition and the inordinate greed of princes and barons." The Reformation was the inevitable result of the intolerable usurpations of the Popes, which the Councils of Constance and Basle tried in vain to resist and restrict. The Reformers, sustained by the Catholic Emperor and all irenic divines, demanded another Council to reform the Church. The Protestants declined eventually to attend the Council of Trent because their doctrine had been condemned already in their absence; and there was no possibility of their getting a decent hearing.

If we should grant that the Roman Church had the right to continue to hold Œcumenical Councils after the greater part of Christianity refused its absolutism; and that it had a right to make binding decisions of doctrines of faith and morals, and to exclude from the discussion the representatives of the separated bodies that it regarded as schismatic and heretical; and that the only thing Rome can now consistently do is to invite the representatives of these bodies to a friendly conference in any future Council; then Christian courtesy, as well as Christian prudence, in view of the vast importance of the reunion of Christendom, should induce the Popes, as I doubt not the Archbishop of St. Paul would agree, to strain the bonds of charity to their utmost extent, not to take advantage of the necessities of the Greeks, as they did at the Council of Florence, nor to decide the most important questions, as they did at Trent, before inviting the Protestants to appear as already condemned before them; but to give them a full, attentive, patient and loving

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hearing, with an earnest desire to remove all their difficulties so far as truth and honor permitted. The reopening of doctrine and institutions, already decided by Papal or Conciliary decrees, does not in itself imply any question of their authority; but it raises the question whether these may not be restated, as many others have often been in the history of the Church, in such simple, comprehensive and irenic terms as to remove difficulties and win acceptance. I firmly believe that such a thing is possible, if only the one great obstacle to the reunion of Christendom could be removed.

The amiable prelate of St. Paul does not appreciate the serious difficulties that confront the Protestant mind as it recalls the mischief wrought in the world by the insistence of the Roman Curia upon its absolute and unlimited jurisdiction.

The position that I have taken with reference to the Papacy is that of many of the most eminent Protestant divines, such as Melanchthon, Grotius and Leibnitz, who in their time seriously considered the problem of the reunion of Christendom and earnestly labored for its accomplishment. All irenic movements, however successful they have been in reconciling differences of doctrine and institution, have been wrecked on one and the same rock of offence. Those who recognize the historic and valid jurisdiction of the Popes, in accordance with the teaching of Jesus Christ our Saviour, and the consent of the ancient Catholic Church, are not thereby compelled to acknowledge an unlimited jurisdiction, such as was claimed by the Popes in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

We recognize the jurisdiction of the President of the United States, but that jurisdiction is defined by the Constitution of our country; and, if he overstep these definitions, we do not hesitate to condemn him and resist him. The American Colonies recognized the supreme jurisdiction of the King of England; but, when he exceeded the constitutional limits of his jurisdiction and committed acts of oppression and tyranny, the American Colonies rebelled, and in the Revolution established the United States of America as a separate nation. So, in the Christian Church, the jurisdiction of the Pope is limited by the divine teaching of Holy Scripture, and by the unanimous consent of the Christian Fathers. This limitation is incidentally and implicity contained in the decrees of the Vatican Council. If the

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Popes transgress these limits, do they not justify resistance and, if necessary, revolution? This is a question which would be answered differently by different natures at different times. Among the Reformers of the sixteenth century, Luther and Melanchthon, Zwingli and Calvin, Cranmer and Knox answered it, under the constraint of adverse circumstances, by reformation outside the Roman Church; Erasmus, Sir Thomas More, Staupitz, Gropper and others, under more favorable circumstances, by reformation within the Church.

One extreme usually gives birth to its opposite. It is evident that present-day Protestantism will never abandon its extreme until the claim for an unlimited jurisdiction of the Popes is also abandoned. The ground on which alone a reunion is possible is that stated by the greatest of all Catholic peacemakers, Cassander, who, in 1564, at the request of the Emperor Ferdinand and his son Maximilian, proposed a platform of reconciliation in which he urged the limitation of the jurisdiction of the Popes to that which Jesus Christ prescribed in the Gospel and the primitive Church recognized. The pathway to reunion is to constitutionalize the Papacy.

The policy of unlimited jurisdiction resulted in the forfeiture of jurisdiction altogether for the greater part of the Christian world. The strength of the separated Christian bodies has greatly increased since the sixteenth century. The Greek Church is no longer in that terrible crisis which, in the fifteenth century, compelled the Greek Emperor to seek reconciliation with Rome; it has the great Russian Empire at its back. The Protestant bodies no longer are on the defensive in ruinous religious wars; they have the three most powerful nations in the world on their side, Great Britain, Germany and the United States. The Catholic nations are all feeble in comparison, and two of the most important of these, France and Italy, are in open war with the Papacy, in which the majority of voters, nominally Catholic, are arrayed against the authorities of their own Church. And in several other Catholic nations the incipient stages of a similar conflict are easily to be seen. I am not proposing to discuss the rights and wrongs of these conflicts. In many cases, both in ancient and modern times, the Popes have been contending for their just, historic rights; but the difficulty in many cases has been that exclusive claims have weakened the force of right-

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ful claims. He who claims too much is usually in danger of losing all.

When one contemplates the happy condition of the Catholic Church in the United States, and compares it with the sad condition of the Catholic Church in the Catholic countries of Europe, one can hardly escape the conclusion that the chief reason for the difference is that the Papacy does not attempt to exercise such an unlimited jurisdiction in the United States as it battles for in the Catholic countries of Europe.

The policy of unlimited jurisdiction and absolute submission weakens the power of the Catholic Church. In a conversation with the present Pope, two years ago, we were talking of the obstacles to the reunion of Christendom. I said to him that, if the obstacles were to be removed, there must be freedom to investigate the difficulties. He said that all reasonable freedom of investigation should be given. If only the Pope would in some way make good his word, and guarantee Catholic scholars reasonable liberty of investigation of the great problems that divide Christendom and obstruct the unity of the Church, I am sure that a splendid array of Catholic scholars would spring up, and with the cooperation of Protestant scholars of the same spirit, the hard problems would be solved, and the unity of the Church secured. Scholarship demands liberty; it cannot thrive under a policy of suppression and absolute submission to an unlimited jurisdiction, and to immeasurable claims, which may easily be extended to cover any and every traditional opinion of scholastic philosophy, mediæval law and patristic exegesis.

The claim to an unlimited jurisdiction by the Papacy may be justly challenged, because the Papal administration is not sufficiently well organized to give just and valid decisions of all questions. It is not the Pope himself who makes the decisions, but the Congregations in which the Roman administration is organized. The Pope simply endorses their action as an executive, if he does not veto it or postpone it. Under these conditions, the Pope is only nominally responsible; we cannot be sure that the decisions express his mature and final judgment.

These Congregations are composed, as every one knows, chiefly of Italians, and these in large part from Southern Italy. From the very nature of the case, they look at everything from a provincial and Italian point of view: they cannot put off the

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characteristics of their race, their nationality and their training. It is not a question now of the Pope, but of the Cardinals and monsignors who reside in Rome, and the other humbler members of the Congregations that transact the business of the Church. They do not belong to the divine constitution of the Church, but to the human side of it; and history and experience show that they are very human. The question is not of the jurisdiction of the Pope, but of the jurisdiction of the Curia—of the Black Pope and the Red Pope, and of little popes of every color and shape, who administer the affairs of the Church with an arbitrariness and tyranny that the Popes themselves, owing to their more serious responsibilities, would not think of. These counsellors of the Popes are often not those whom he would prefer, but an inheritance from one or more previous administrations. These not infrequently advise him in their own interests, and not in that of the Church; and they sometimes, by indirection, obstruct and thwart his policy; and they are ever especially hostile to any and every kind of reform. Entrenched in Rome, and perpetuating themselves from generation to generation, they are now, as they ever have been, the petty tyrants of the Catholic world. In any other matter than religion, Roman Catholics would regard it as intolerable that all questions should be decided by men of another nation, with a demand for absolute submission.

When one considers the qualification of the members of the Curia, one must admit their very great ability and learning in Canon Law, in the Ceremonies of the Church, and in Scholastic Theology; but they are sadly deficient in Biblical and Historical scholarship. In fact, a very considerable number of the greatest Biblical scholars and historians of the Catholic Church have been, and now are, in discredit at Rome; and many of their best works have been put on the Index. The Curia is altogether disqualified to make decisions in an immense range of questions that interest the modern world. Furthermore, the Curia is antiquated in its methods, as well as in its organization. These have nothing whatever to do with the divine constitution of the Church. It is entirely within the authority of the Pope to transform the administration and the methods, modernize them and make them more efficient. But as they are at present, a Catholic scholar has the right to challenge their competence in

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many things, without disrespect to the authority of the Pope, and without raising any question as to the divine constitution of the Church.

I must think that the Archbishop of St. Paul agrees with me in recognition of many of the mistakes of the Curia and of the Popes; but it is difficult to see how, on his principle of recognizing, in theory, the absolute supremacy of the Pope, the Church can have any guarantee for the present or the future against the repetition of these evils. The Archbishop says: "Counsellors the Pope will gather around him; vicars and delegates he will have to divide with him the labor of his office; but the Supreme Master, in last resort, he will ever remain." If this statement be correct, the Pope is essentially an absolute sovereign with no one on earth to check his will. He may be a Gregory the Great, or he may be a Borgia; who can tell?

But, in fact, the Archbishop does not really hold to such an unlimited jurisdiction. In his discussion of details, he agrees so closely with what I have said in my article, that I see no valid reason why we might not eventually agree altogether. I am inclined to think that he represents fairly well the views of the present Pontiff. The Archbishop limits the jurisdiction of the Papacy by ruling out "jurisdiction in civil affairs, and dominion over civil governments"; by agreeing to a limitation of the Papal domain to a limited territory, such as the District of Columbia; and by agreeing to a number of other limitations with certain qualifications that seem for the most part quite reasonable. I cordially accept his statement that "if purely civil matters are in issue the Pope has no right whatsoever to give directions to Catholics." I do admit, as he thinks I will, "that the question changes when issues under consideration are such as appertain to the religious conscience, and demand solution in the light of religious principles." I agree also to the wise words that "the Papacy possesses no right to determine questions of science and philosophy, of sociology and economics. The realm of the Papacy is faith and morals,—that much and nothing more. The situation changes, of course, when speculation, clothed in the garb of science or philosophy, of sociology or economics, soars into the domain of faith and morals, and challenges the Church within its own sphere." If the Archbishop is correct, and I think he is, that the present Pope himself holds to such limita-



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tions of his authority, what reasonable objection can there be to put such and the like limitations in the form of a written constitution, in order to keep aggressive spirits within those limits. Such a constitution would not deprive the Popes of any of their Biblical or historical rights, but might save future Popes, and more especially the Curia, from repeating the errors and blunders of the past. Still more, such a constitution would do much to conciliate many of those who cannot in good conscience submit to the Papacy under present conditions. In my opinion, it would remove the greatest barrier to the reunion of Christendom.

It is quite true that difficulties would still remain. Even with a written constitution, it would not be conceded by modern governments or by modern scholarship that the Curia should have the final right of interpreting that constitution. To no one man, even if he be Pope, can be safely entrusted the final decision as to the extent of his own powers. The repeated overruling of the French episcopate, in the sad conflict waged between the Church and State in France, is a sufficient evidence of this. Let the Papacy restore to the episcopate its historical and Biblical rights, which are just as divine and even more sacred than those of the Pope; and let it restore to the Christian people their Biblical and historical rights which were formerly exercised through the Christian Emperors and other sovereigns; then, and then only, can we have these lawful checks and balances which secure to each of the three divinely appointed *media* of Church government and discipline their valid and properly adjusted rights. Then we may hope for a speedy removal of all the other minor difficulties, and the Unity of Christ's Church, for which He prayed and died and now reigns, will be secured.

CHARLES A. BRIGGS.

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# NEUTRALIZATION.

BY ERVING WINSLOW.

THE method of territorial Neutralization, since it was suggested as a practical and timely peace measure and as a solution of the problems affecting the welfare of the "weaker peoples," has been widely discussed. Its discussion has indicated in many quarters such a misconception of the plan that a renewed definition seems desirable:

"As has been pointed out by writers on international law, neutrality is the creation of the world of Christianity. For the word neutrality the Latin and the Greek have no equivalent. The heathen nations knew nothing but the inveterate exercise of an all-embracing warfare. The idea of limiting the horrors of war to the contending forces by the abstention of neutrals was the product of the new life that was developed by the Renaissance. The statesmen and the lawyers of that time invented for the characterization of the new principle '*neutralis*' and '*neutralitas*,'—linguistic barbarisms, interesting because they prove its novelty. Even in Machiavelli's day the precept of the Florentine seems to have been generally accepted, that a state should never be neutral, because, as he argued, in case the combatants were strong the neutral would become a prey of the conqueror, and in case they were weak the neutral would forego the opportunity to dominate its victorious ally."*

It is to the Nineteenth Century that we owe the practice of Neutralization,—the declaration by the joint action of the Great Powers that a given nation or territory is permanently removed from the field of international struggle. The Powers agree to respect the integrity of the neutral nation, while it, in turn, agrees neither to make war nor to take part in the wars of others.

"A nation set apart and neutralized is bound, as the authorities assert, 'to avoid in times of peace every engagement which might prevent its observing the duties of neutrality in time of war.' As an independent state it may lawfully exercise in its intercourse with other states all

* Report of the Thirteenth Universal Peace Congress, Boston, 1904.

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the other attributes of external sovereignty. It may form treaties of amity and even of alliance with other states, provided it does not thereby incur obligations which, though presumably lawful in time of peace, would prevent its fulfilling the duties of neutrality in time of war. Under this distinction, treaties of offensive alliance applicable to a specific case of war between any two or more powers, or guaranteeing their possessions, are, of course, interdicted to the presumably neutral state, but this interdict does not extend to defensive alliances formed with other neutral states for the maintenance of neutrality of the contracting parties against any power by which it might be threatened with violence."*

The Neutralization of Switzerland in 1815, which followed the fall of Bonaparte, concerned an established nationality and was intended primarily to secure the peace of Europe. The welfare of Switzerland was not so much considered by the Great Powers as their own safety when they closed that pathway to the march of armies. Similarly, the conditions of perpetual neutrality imposed upon the kingdom of Belgium by the Treaty of London in 1839 were not primarily designed to promote Belgium's welfare, but to create a barrier between France and Germany.

The intrinsic benefits of Neutralization to the protected state and the claim which the "weaker peoples" are entitled to make for the opportunity which it affords for self-development make the new aspect in which neutrality, called by Whewell "the true road to perpetual peace," is to-day regarded. Thus, F. de Martens writes:

"Dans les temps passés, et particulièrement au commencement du XIXe siècle, la neutralisation d'un petit Etat comme la Suisse était généralement regardée comme un cadeau que lui faisaient les grandes Puissances de l'Europe. A présent, la déclaration de la neutralité permanente devrait être reconnue comme la manifestation d'un droit individuel ou personnel de l'Etat: c'est la pacification perpétuelle et solennelle d'un Etat. Plus il y a de nations permanentes neutres, mieux le règne de la Paix dans les relations internationales est assuré. Plus grand est le nombre d'Etats neutralisés, plus seront restreintes les limites des conflicts sanglants entre les peuples."†

The Thirteenth Universal Peace Congress in Boston referred to the "Bureau International Permanent de la Paix," for study and report, the subject of the further Neutralization of territories,—a subject quite distinct from the Neutralization of mari-

* Report of the Thirteenth Universal Peace Congress, Boston, 1904.
† "*La Revue des Deux Mondes*," November 15th, 1903.

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time routes, canals, or navigable waters. The proposal to urge upon The Hague the Neutralization of maritime routes was introduced into the Peace Congress of Lucerne in 1905, and there defeated, and, though it was carried in the Congress of Milan in 1906, it was opposed by a strong minority. Similar opposition has been expressed by Captain A. T. Mahan* in regard to the protection of commerce during the war on the ground that such Neutralization would remove one of the great deterrents of war,—the anticipation of its wide-spread evils. No such objection could be urged against the permanent Neutralization of territories.

Approaching the subject from the point of view of the "little peoples," we must recognize, not only for the individual but for the nations, that right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness which the Declaration of Independence claims. The attitude of the United States has hitherto accorded with the principles of its founders. Popular sympathy has manifested itself heartily all along, in our country, with struggles to preserve national life. Finland and Poland, Greece, Hungary and Ireland, the Boers in South Africa, have found ardent champions here, and their heroes have been our heroes. It is hardly to be believed that one misstep has separated permanently America from her ideals, which are so exactly expressed and fulfilled in the scheme of Neutralization. The warning of the Farewell Address has no pertinence against an entrance into world politics as initiating the measure which is intended to segregate nationalities and to preserve them from complications, disputes and warfare. Indeed, as the repentant sinner may become the shining example of sanctity, the nation that has erred may, by the very noble act of withdrawal and reparation, assume the leadership which was her birthright, in the cause of world peace. Hitherto, the suppression of national life by the Powers which have not deliberately trodden under foot the subjugated country, has been carried on under the forms of tutelage and trusteeship, with a "sphere of influence" and a resident administrator sometimes acting under the mask of a titular native ruler. The English, who began by wringing the life-blood from India, have furnished in modern times brilliant examples of self-denying and painstaking colonial administration, and men like Sir Henry Cotton, Sir Andrew Clarke and Lord Cromer are, perhaps, ac-

* "National Review," June, 1907.

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cording to the powers and abilities of her administrators, the rule rather than the exception. Yet along with all the material advancement, the education and social development of the "wards," it is now very distinctly recognized that the artificial and foreign imposition of authority has fostered rather than diminished the national aspirations, and that the loyalty to foreign government is only skin-deep. The thorough-going tyrant may destroy a nation; the beneficent administrator, by the very conditions of his conduct, decidedly encourages the survival of the national aspirations, while he can give them no hopeful direction, and must finally, indeed, when the crisis arrives, take measures to crush them out, as Mr. John Morley, Liberal of Liberals, made Secretary for India, has so inconsistently felt obliged to do.

The unrest which the foreign-ruled peoples are manifesting, the jealousies among the ruling nations themselves, the expenses of colonial administration which fall upon the masses at home and abroad (while the profits from their exploitation enrich only a few individuals) are progressively impressing themselves upon the public consciousness. Colonies settled by the natives of a country in regions suitable for their domestication are, of course, gradually assuming the real independence to which they inevitably tend, but the unassimilable subjects of the "civilized" nations have no such logical future, while the general diffusion of intelligence, the very gift of the conqueror, supplies the armory with weapons which will inevitably turn, sooner or later, against the most beneficent intruder.

The apparently self-denying ordinance by which the ruler should withdraw from the alien territory, relinquishing all special privileges and leaving it free for self-development under the protection of a general Neutralization, may really be the course of wisdom, of economy and of safety. As for the protected nation itself, if its proper life is to persist and develop, we hardly need to refer to the authority of John Fiske for the warrant that no people ever reached independence through the tutelage of another people.

The recent action of the new Kingdom of Norway, which has applied to Germany, England, Russia and France, asking them to join in the Neutralization of Norway, is a most significant measure. It is understood that Germany, France and Russia have acceded to the request and that Great Britain will undoubt-

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edly join with them. A kind of Neutralization had been previously arranged with Sweden, pledging Norway and Sweden against fortifications in the neighborhood of the frontier, and this fact, together with her valuable harbors and largely extended coast, has doubtless suggested to Norway this magnificent opportunity for peaceful development, free from the burdens of militarism. The discussion of the subject of Neutralization in Holland, whatever result may be reached, is notable since the subject has been thus seriously mooted there. Japan assented to the Chinese Neutralization, though in the flush of her triumph over the power of Russia she has been allowed to violate the pledges made with the United States and other Powers which might have placed Korea in the category of neutralized nations.

It is very interesting at this time to note the fact that the United States, first admitted to the counsels of the Great Powers at Geneva, whatever opinion may be entertained of her participation, began to use her influence toward the Neutralization of "weaker peoples" at the Berlin West-African Congress, where Mr. John A. Kasson, in behalf of the United States, strongly and impressively urged the Neutralization of the territories comprised in the conventional basin of the Congo. He instanced with great effect the distress which had been caused in this continent, during the earlier period of its settlement, by foreign wars, and made a deep impression upon the Congress, which declined, however, to enter into a compact which might in case of war deprive the belligerent of the means of attack; only embodying the principle by way of a somewhat futile suggestion to the parties which might be concerned in a future act of war.

An admirable opportunity is now at hand to apply the principle of Neutralization to the solution of our pressing problems in the Philippine Islands.

To this or any other scheme for relief, however, opposition manifests itself in some such form as the following:

**"It is humiliating to know that any American citizen would suggest, or even entertain, the idea that we should rid ourselves of the responsibility for the government of the Philippines, because there happens to be a 'popular apprehension that the United States might become involved in war.' Never in their history have the American people shunned responsibility because of the perplexities it entailed, or the dangers it threatened. Such a suggestion is un-American."***

* Pueblo, Colorado, "Chieftain." July 14th, 1907.

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This sentiment is inspired by a spirit of bravado, such as might impel a drunken ship-captain to refuse to throw over ballast and to defy a coming storm. Even imperial England is contemplating events which the impossibility of colonial defence in case of war might force upon her.*

Within a few weeks the withdrawal of Great Britain from her greatest colony, where nationalization is everywhere the rallying-cry of Young India, has been seriously faced in such words as these:

"It is a certainty that the withdrawal of Great Britain would be followed almost instantly by a partition of India among the Great Powers, both of Europe and Asia, who would spring at once—France upon Burma and Eastern Bengal, Russia upon the Northern Provinces, Germany upon Bombay and its hinterland, and China through Nepal upon Bengal proper, which they would regard as grand prizes, securing to them revenue and the monopoly of the vast markets for which they are all hungering."†

We may be emboldened to suggest the panacea of Neutralization to prevent the foreboded catastrophe.

But what is the real drift of public sentiment in regard to the Philippines? Are not the people of the United States almost prepared to grasp the opportunity which is offered them to set a shining example in the promotion of world-peace, while escaping a most embarrassing and compromising situation? This feeling is well expressed in a notable editorial in a leading newspaper, only one of scores of editorials from representative journals all over the country:

"We believe that any American statesman who discovers a way to get rid of the Philippine Islands, with honor to ourselves and justice to them, will be remembered when all the brilliant reputations won in the Spanish war and the crusade against the trusts have been forgotten.

"The memory of this happy statesman will go ringing down the ages with that of him whose name shall be most closely connected with the completion of the Panama Canal. These two achievements would be of almost equal value to the country. One would double our power of national defence by bringing the two coasts under observation of a single fleet. The other would reduce half our exposure to attack by withdrawing an exposed and useless outpost."‡

Should any great leader of the Republican Party be the "happy statesman" to carry through the scheme of neutralizing the Phil-

* "Problems of Greater Britain." Sir Charles Dilke.
† "Spectator," July 13th, 1907.
‡ "Minneapolis Journal."

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ippine Islands, all those who have so long labored to promote their independence will gladly permit his name to go "ringing down the ages" with those of the greatest benefactors to their country!

Resolutions calling upon the Government to propose to the Great Powers the neutralization of the Philippines were introduced into Congress at this last session,—in the Senate by Senator Crane of Massachusetts ("by request"), and into the House of Representatives by Representative McCall of Massachusetts and Representative Burgess of Texas. A hearing was given April 6th, 1906, on Mr. McCall's resolution before the Committee on Insular Affairs of the House of Representatives, at which Mr. Moorfield Storey made an eloquent and impressive address.*

An important advocacy of the plan of Neutralization is that of the Hon. James H. Blount, a member of the Volunteer Army in the Philippines and a Judge of First Instance in their courts for several years, who has strongly urged it as a solution of the Philippine problem.†

Mr. John Foreman, who has discussed Philippine affairs with so much intelligence and acumen, writes:

"If, when the United States nine years ago destroyed the protecting power of Spain in the Philippine Islands, the United States had practically said to the Filipinos: 'You are henceforth a free people; work out your own destiny. For no nation which has become great was ever made; it made itself. We will from this moment endeavor to persuade all the Great Powers to join us in declaring your independence and neutrality';—if that had been America's attitude, then the world would have hailed such unprecedented mutual self-abnegation, and the Powers might probably have agreed to America's proposal."

But present conditions are to be faced. During these nine years, it must be recognized, every effort, private and official, has been made to destroy the native characteristics, American influence has been established to the exclusion of every other, and American monopoly set up in many forms, while the death-blow to foreign fair trade will come after the spring of 1909. Vested interests have been legalized, and the Islands, of course, have become more and more a sphere of American influence. It is obvious that to escape the responsibility and to persuade the

* Statement of Mr. Moorfield Storey, of Boston, Massachusetts, before the Committee on Insular Affairs, House of Representatives.

† THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, January 18th, June 21st, 1907.

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Great Powers to join in neutralizing the Archipelago, the situation must be met as this great Republic may surely be expected to meet such a situation, nobly and heroically, that withdrawal must be not ostensible but absolute, that concessions made in perpetuity must be cancelled upon just terms, and that our connection with the Philippine Islands should be only that of the other Powers, though as a "favored nation," surely, entitled to the eternal gratitude of a people whose aspirations would thus be magnificently crowned.

ERVING WINSLOW.

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# THE POETIC DRAMA.

BY LOUISE COLLIER WILLCOX.

EACH year sends in a new dozen or so of poetic plays, showing that the form has undoubtedly come to stay. In some sort, it gives an answer to the reiterated question: "Is literature dead?" "Not dead, but hiding," is the reply; "a little overlaid by quantities of cheaply manufactured novels and, literature being essentially aristocratic, somewhat awed by ascendent democracy." In an age when an unlearned opinion can carry as far as the learned, when public-school education has made every man a mediocre critic and silenced the sound of the trained voice, it is somewhat difficult for literature to flourish exuberantly. The theory that, to enter the sacred realm, a living language must be handled as a learned instrument, depending as much upon sight and sound, upon texture, color and perfume as upon the sense it conveys, does not easily gain popularity; and, when the garment of words in which a thought is clothed is worn threadbare for the plain meanings to peep through, and the meanings are adapted to suit the masses, then literature can do no better than hide awhile and await better times. For literature, like all true art, has, as its aim, to give a very high and rare order of intellectual joy; and to say that its first aim should be to convey a fact, or tell a tale, is as dull as to fancy that a Beethoven symphony or a Rodin statue should aim at telling a story or commemorating a fact.

The revival of the poetic drama, whether its results be labelled with medals of success or tags of failure, shows at least the intent of art and as such deserves a welcome. The highest reach it has attained is in the Maeterlinckian drama, where all the differences between the earlier drama and the drama of to-day are most clearly emphasized. Here the daily course, the common

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incidents, are charged with heavy meanings, and the passions are spiritualized till it seems as if eternity itself were stalking the stage. Stephen Phillips, despite the acclaim with which his plays have been received, achieved no more than the presentation of obvious, old-fashioned melodrama poetically handled.

Foremost—indeed, as far as permanent values goes, entirely alone—in this year's output stands the volume of Mr. Yeats's collected dramas.* Here is a poet who came into the world dowered with an art, and who had but to keep still until it grew to self-consciousness and uttered itself through him. As is perhaps inevitable in a sophisticated age, Mr. Yeats has also evolved a critical theory of art; but the explanatory prefaces are written to explain the poetry, not the poetry, which jets like a fountain from beneath the covering of all effort, to illustrate the theory. Two theories he offers in his preface—that without fine words there can be no literature, and that art always owes a debt to limitation. The very word "literature," as distinguished from average writing, means that substance prevails by the beauty and the value of its form. All the facts of the world are but commonplace statement till beauty transforms them; all the theory of life is but a dim cloud until visible lines are drawn. To prevail, the written word must justify itself by its ancestry, must be vivified with the strength of traditional and associational value, must have a high and noble breeding, and must link itself to beautiful harmonies with all adjoining sounds. That art gains by limitation means that the firmer, the truer, the outline which cuts off, for decoration, some bit of space from the surrounding void, the finer the art. Art is drawing lines, separating from the blank stare of the commonplace some portion of life and erecting in it an altar to beauty. The particular limitation Mr. Yeats refers to is national; his poetry is Irish in symbol and setting; the plays are compact of weird legend, the delicate and strange intuitions of a folk not yet wholly divorced from communion with the sea and the sky and the mountains, to whom dreams and visions are a part of practice, and to whom the visible life of every day is but the concealing veil of the realities that stretch beyond.

One notices in reading these six beautiful dramas the almost

* "The Poetical Works of William Butler Yeats." In two volumes, New York: The Macmillan Co. (Vol. II shortly to appear.)

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imperceptible way in which Mr. Yeats steps from real life into dream life, which comes very closely linked to reality and seems to be not the hyperbole of passion, but rather a fourth dimension into which we may learn to pass at will. When he writes:

> "My master will break up the sun and moon,
> And quench the stars in their ancestral light,
> And overturn the thrones of God and the angels,"

we remember the vehement majesty of Marlowe when he touched the forces of nature; but we get a more delicate touch in:

> "He who could bend all things to His will
> Has covered the door of the infinite fold
> With the pale stars and the wandering moon."

When he writes:

> "Did but the lawless angels see that door,
> They would fall, *slain by everlasting peace*,"

he gives us a profoundly metaphysical conception of how the turbulent and restless forces of life must be ultimately caught and stilled in the meshes of the great, white, unfluttering veil of Quiet. Somewhat the same idea is touched again when he says:

> "By love alone
> It is God binds us to Himself and to the hearth,
> And shuts us from the waste beyond His peace,
> *From maddening freedom and bewildering light.*"

Mr. Yeats's world is a Celtic world, full of signs and omens; through the dramas go the crane that starves at the full of the moon because he is afraid of his own shadow and the glitter of water, the deer with no horns and the dying fawn, the death-pale deer and the boar with no bristles—all full of portent to those alert for signals. Another point to note is the skill with which Mr. Yeats combines the concrete and the abstract concept. This is an effect much in use in the young Shakespeare; and in Mr. Yeats's work it is a swift way of bringing the visionary world into habitual life. He writes:

> "I have lived now, near ninety winters, child,
> And I have known three things no doctor cures,—
> Love, Loneliness and Famine."

Here Famine is ennobled by its connection with the proud company of Love and Loneliness.

Again:

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"Dear Heart, make a soft cradle of old tales
And songs and music;"

or:

"There is no medicine but Gabriel's trump.
Till it has ended parting and old age,
And hail and rain and famine and foolish laughter."

One notes throughout the work the extraordinary beauty of the similes drawn from nature:

"And dance upon the mountain like a flame;"

"Dance like a wave of the sea;"

"Her face was pale as water before dawn."

The last has, indeed, the drawback of echoing:

"Her eyes were deeper than the depths
Of water stilled at even."

But it is not the little flowers of diction one would commend in these six exquisite dramas, but rather the unified and profound feeling for life and art:

"I said the poets hung
Images of the life that was in Eden."

This last quality, together with his freedom of the dream dimension, his familiarity with folk-lore and symbolism, his felicitous combinations of concrete and abstract imagery, his mental attitude ever keenly aware of those incarnate, wavering impulses that make the mischief and the witchery and the rhythm of life, is a rich endowment for any poet; but Mr. Yeats has another gift, a rarer, and to those who understand, a dearer, the mystic's sense of the riches hid in silence:

"And more I may not write of; for they that cleave
The waters of sleep can make a chattering tongue
Heavy like stone, their wisdom being half silence."

To turn to Hardy's "The Dynasts"* is to turn from poetry to prose; for "The Dynasts" may be history or it may be philosophy, but what it assuredly is not is poetry. One has but to compare with Mr. Yeats's fairies these supernatural beings, the spirits of the years, of the pities, the spirits sinister and ironic, the spirits of rumor, the messengers, the recording angel and the spirit of the earth—all of them so sadly versed in Schopenhauer's philosophy—to realize that they have won no freedom from hu-

* "The Dynasts." By Thomas Hardy. Part II. The Macmillan Co.

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man limitations, and that they are living with us in a worn, commonplace, perfectly matter-of-fact world.

Whatever the subject-matter of drama—and Ibsen has shown us that it may be social complexity, Bernard Shaw that it may be revolutionary doctrine, and Maeterlinck that it may be the most delicate and subtle of intuitions—its form must be as perfect as that of a sonnet. Its artistic perfection must depend upon some underlying unity which bands together into one action, with its rise and fall, all the incidents and characters of the play, "as if," says Pater, "a song or ballad were still lying at the root of it." Mr. Hardy has given us here, in a play of three parts, nineteen acts and one hundred and thirty scenes, all the dust and débris of a life-long study of Napoleon and his times. But Napoleon himself is not big enough to hold together the sprawling events of his age; and, interesting as this drama is, whenever Mr. Hardy's Wessex peasant comes forward, delightful as it is to hear again the spirits of the air giving discursive comment upon life in the manner of the great novelist, the drama can make no clain to artistic completeness.

The next volume of plays* is from an American pen. In opening it, we cannot but wonder if a sentence of Pater's determined Mrs. Dargan's choice in the first drama, of which Henry III is the hero. Pater says of him:

"A frightened soul . . . doting on all that was alien from his father's huge ferocity, on the genialities, the soft gilding, on the genuine interests of art and poetry, to be credited more than any other person with the deep religious expression of Westminster Abbey, Henry the Third, picturesque though useless, but certainly touching, might have furnished Shakespeare, had he filled up this interval in his series with precisely the kind of effect he tends towards in his English plays."

The effect which Shakespeare tends toward is one that Mrs. Dargan, with her leaning toward happy endings, just misses—namely, that of the pity and the irony of life, standing out the more glaringly when the ills to which we are all of us heirs together fall blighting upon high and conspicuous persons. But, although she has quite missed this effect, she has written dramas with an admirable command of technique, a good understanding of plot and structure, and more than ordinary felicity of phrase. There are phrases painfully reminiscent of more classic

* "Lords and Lovers and Other Dramas." By Olive Tilford Dargan. Charles Scribner's Sons. 1906.

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utterances, and there are explanatory lines that are too obvious; but the result remains a high achievement. If one were asked to say wherein the chief weakness lay, one would feel that one had acquired no new or individual point of view from the reading, and that there was no serious comment upon life. Mrs. Dargan has immersed herself in Elizabethan drama, and her plays show no touch of the tremendous advance of thought which marks our own century.

"Abelard and Héloise"* is disappointing when one reflects upon what one demands of so high a theme. The ejaculatory method of speech in the first twenty pages is nothing less than exasperating, and one wonders if no one will ever stand still long enough to utter a finished sentence. Doubtless this is a concession to stage production, but it is ruinous to a reading play. The character of Abelard is so weak and vacillating as to make the love of Héloise seem unworthy. Her indomitable energy and will, her living faith in that life projected beyond all creeds, the life of God in man, loses its force when we conceive it as inspired by so poor a creature as Abelard.

Last year brought us Mr. Percy Mackaye's "Fenriss the Wolf." In "Jeanne d'Arc,"† this year, Mr. Mackaye has produced an excellent poetical drama eminently fitted for the stage. The visual faculty is always remarkable in Mr. Mackaye's work, and this play shows distinct advance in ease and dexterity of handling blank verse; the line has gained both in plasticity and distinction, and the exuberances of fantastic individuality are well reined in. It is a relief to exchange the average dead-level speech of the stage for Jeanne's description of the armèd soldiers:

> "And all their shining limbs were stiff with steel,
> And rank by rank they rattled as they marched."

Of the "Sappho and Phaon,"‡ one cannot speak with so wholehearted an appreciation, for here once more Mr. Mackaye's fantasticality runs riot. The play proper is a play in a play of a play. We are first introduced to excavators of Herculaneum in the near future; the American enthusiast drops asleep and dreams of Horace and Virgil, who are planning to see a tragedy

* "Abelard and Héloise." By Ridgely Torrence. Charles Scribner's Sons. 1907.

† "Jeanne d'Arc." By Percy Mackaye. New York: The Macmillan Co. 1906.

‡ "Sappho and Phaon." By Percy Mackaye. The Macmillan Co.

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by Varius enacted. After certain episodes with the actors, the play proper, "Sappho and Phaon," 600 B.C., begins; but the change of time rends the unity of the whole. Mr. Mackaye has woven into his play a number of the Sapphic fragments with ingenuity, but not always in a way to meet our preconceived ideas. To remember the gorgeous "Anactoria" of Swinburne and the fragment that inspired it, and compare it with the same fragment woven into the play, is far from soul-satisfying.

Last, but not least, we welcome another drama from Mrs. Drummond, who last year gave us "The Alcestis." Mrs. Drummond is an essentially feminine poet of fine insight and delicate sensibility. The chief gain in "The Coming of Philibert"* is in dramatic action and force. The subtle thesis of the power of nobility to awaken an echo even in the most ignoble and unwonted breasts is well carried out in this return of the King's twin brother to the court, after a youth spent in the forest in the companionship of a scholar of monastic tendencies. There are delightful lyrics in the play and charming bits of poetic description. Mrs. Drummond's is a future to which one may look forward with interest and expectation.

There is one demand that all true art makes of its votaries, self-sacrifice. No real poetry is written in the comfortable interims of a pleasant life. It will be written with sweat and blood, or it remains mere versification. The deeper meanings of life with which poetry deals can be known only to those who have ceased to cower before any experience, however blasting, and are revealed to those alone who are brave enough to beckon the larger sorrows of the world to them. Poetical feeling is but a framework into which the artist must set thoughtful passion and passionate thought.

> "Him who trembles before the flame and the flood
> And the winds that blow through the starry ways,
> Let the starry winds and the flame and the flood
> Cover over and hide, for he has no part
> With the proud, majestical multitude."

LOUISE COLLIER WILLCOX.

* "The Coming of Philibert." By Sara King Wiley. The Macmillan Co. 1907.



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# GOVERNMENT BY EXECUTIVE RULINGS.

BY ALBERT DEAN CURRIER.

THE recent extensive exercise of the power of Congress "to regulate commerce," etc., under the provisions of the Constitution, has revived, at this time, a close scrutiny and study of the letter and spirit of our national Constitution, not only by our statesmen, but also by all persons who are interested in good government. The rapid growth of Federal power involves not only the power of Congress, under some attempted constructions of the Constitution, to enact general laws which frequently clash with the laws of the States, but also involves the rapidly increasing practice by Congress of delegating to the executive heads of governmental departments the power to exercise functions which properly belong to the legislative and judicial branches of the Government.

The people of the United States are a very busy people, interested in the progress of their individual affairs. They are so busy that they are inclined to leave the study and enforcement of those principles which make for good government to those who make politics their business. So great has become this *laissez-faire* policy of the people, and so great has been their faith in the executive officials of the Government, that they have not fully realized the rapid growth of the executive branch of our Government, which is silently and surely usurping many of the functions of government that properly belong to the legislative and judicial branches. This growth of power in the executive branch appears to be due, principally, to the tendency of the legislative branch of the Government, as heretofore mentioned, to delegate to the executive heads of departments the power to make "Rules and Regulations" under general laws enacted by Congress, with power to interpret such laws wherein they may appear ambiguous or silent upon specific matters.

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Great successes frequently induce overconfidence and a relaxation of those virtues which constitute the foundation of success. This is as true in the case of nations as in the case of individual persons. "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty."

Patriotic faith in the Government under which we live is commendable; but may not the faith of the people of the United States in "the Government" have become so great that a man who holds a commission as executive head of any department of "the Government" may be, in the eyes of the people, thereby endowed with infallibility and righteousness almost divine? Does not a trace of the old sentiment, "The king can do no wrong," still lurk in many minds?

It appears to be generally conceded, throughout the broad field of political science, that the best form of government is that which best preserves civil liberty and self-government, and which at the same time best provides for the common welfare and common defence of *all* the people within its domain.

In the various processes of the reorganization of social and political governments after the dark ages of mediæval history, during which period only the feudal system obtained supremacy and liberty was denied to all except a few, monarchical and aristocratic forms of government quickly developed into absolute despotisms and the worst form of oligarchies; while so-called republics, including even the commonwealth of England in the seventeenth century, rapidly deteriorated into disorganized and belligerent factions, which eventually became reorganized as monarchies or as aristocracies.

Gradually, through the growth of popular education and the general enlightenment of the people, constitutional forms of government began to appear and, in England, by the exercise of the proper checks and balances provided in its constitutional form of government, the power of the king was gradually lessened, and the people approached a more democratic form of government through the House of Commons. Through the growth of religious liberty, a more popular education and the influence of the printing-press during the latter part of the eighteenth century, the doctrine of true democracy and the capacity for self-government obtained a much firmer foothold, particularly in the new American colonies.

The American colonists inherited many of the English forms

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of government, but during the period of the American Revolution we find that, through the rapid spread of the principles of civil liberty and self-government and the exercise of local forms of government, the people of the thirteen original States of our Union developed a great antipathy to the monarchical features of the English Government, until, at the time of adoption of the Articles of Confederation in the year 1778, we find the popular legislative bodies in nearly all the States exercising supreme power.

By the Articles of Confederation nearly all the powers of the States were apparently conferred upon a single legislative body, the Continental Congress, without the establishment of branches for the exercise of certain functions, but with the reservation to the several States of certain powers which might properly have been conferred upon the Federal Government. Like the so-called republics of ancient Greece and Rome, the popular legislative body lacked, to a certain extent, the spirit of unity, and was characterized by the absence of proper constitutional checks and balances.

After the people had obtained their national independence by the war of the American Revolution, we find the representatives of the States assembled in the Constitutional Convention of 1787 for the purpose of framing and adopting a Constitution which, in the words of the preamble thereto, was intended "to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity." This Constitution which, on March 4th, 1789, had been ratified by eleven of the States, established, for the purpose of maintaining the equilibrium and stability of the new Government, three grand divisions in the following order: the Legislative, the Executive and the Judicial,—the powers of each of which were separately defined. The Government so formed was a republican form of government, but it appears to have been clearly recognized by the framers of the Constitution that a republican form of Government may, through the lack of constitutional checks and balances, vary from a pure democracy to a most exclusive oligarchy. That it was the intent of the framers of the Constitution, who represented the people of the original States, to eventually develop, through

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the exercise of political rights by the people and through popular education as to the principles of civil liberty, a more democratic form of Government in which all the people should be fully and justly represented, there can be no doubt. With this intent the Constitution of 1787 was adopted. The representatives of the people of the original thirteen States had, during the struggles of the States for independence, acquired a rare experience and knowledge as to the rights of the people and the manner in which such rights might be best preserved. All of their vast experience and wisdom thus obtained was crystallized in that famous document, the Constitution of the United States. It is true that there were some matters upon which the representatives in the Constitutional Convention failed to agree, particularly as to such rights as should be reserved to the several States, but they wisely provided that the Constitution might thereafter be amended by the concurrence of two-thirds of both Houses of Congress, when ratified by three-fourths of the several States. There appears to be no doubt that the framers of the Constitution realized that a Government with all its powers concentrated in any one of the three grand branches of the Government, either the Legislative, Executive or Judicial, must necessarily become an arbitrary Government; and it is manifestly the spirit and intent of the Constitution that the functions of these three grand branches of our Government should be exercised separately and independently, yet, so far as possible, in harmony with each other. By the Amendments to the Constitution the spirit of personal rights and civil liberty is emphasized.

The Constitution vests the executive power of the Government in the President of the United States, but, inasmuch as it is physically impossible for one person to perform all the executive duties and functions of the Government, Congress has prescribed by statutory laws (Secs. 158 to 161, inclusive, of the United States Statutes) that the executive functions shall be distributed among "executive departments"; and it is also prescribed (Sec. 161, United States Statutes) that "the head of each department is authorized to prescribe regulations, not inconsistent with law, for the government of his department, the conduct of its officers and clerks, the distribution and performance of its business, and the custody, use and preservation of the records, papers and property appertaining to it." The direction of the President is

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to be presumed in all the instructions and rules issuing from the competent departments.*

Although the Constitution and the statutes creating such executive offices do not anticipate or legally permit the promulgation of regulations except for the purpose of enforcing such rights, duties and obligations as are clearly defined by statute, yet, in those specific matters upon which the Federal statutes are ambiguous or silent, by virtue of the discretionary power vested in the executive heads of departments by Congress and the authority delegated to such executive officers by certain acts of Congress, portions of the laws are interpreted by executive officials, and the deficiencies in such laws are supplied by executive rulings thereon. Such executive rulings are often based upon forced and strained constructions of the statutory laws.

In recent years, the extensive and rapid growth of all sorts of industries and business pursuits in the United States has imposed, both upon the State Legislatures and Congress, duties which require much expert knowledge in the framing of just laws. Congressional Committees rely greatly for recommendation and advice upon departmental officials, who are often inclined to recommend the delegation of more authority and greater discretionary power to the executive heads of departments. The public too often fails in properly advising its representatives in Congress, especially upon matters which require technical knowledge, and the experts who represent various industries before Congressional Committees are frequently regarded as being prejudiced in favor of private interests. Thus, many specific questions which should be determined by Congress and which should be adjusted by proper Congressional Acts, are, by the terms of the Acts themselves, left to the executive heads of departments to be determined and enforced by them.

The exercise of such discretionary power by the executive heads of departments involves, *first,* a legal interpretation of the laws, which is a judicial function, and, *second,* the preparation and adoption of rules and regulations thereunder, which are properly legislative functions.

Such rulings by the executive head of any department may

* See Wilcox *vs.* Jackson, 13 Pet. (U. S.) 513; Confiscation Cases, 20 Wall. (U. S.) 92; Wolsey *vs.* Chapman, 101 U. S. 769; U. S. *vs.* Fletcher, 148 U. S. 89 and other legal authorities.

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have the effect of destroying one class of industries and the building up of another class.

As an example of such power, a commission of the executive branch of the Government consisting of the Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of Agriculture and the Secretary of Commerce and Labor, may, by virtue of the extraordinary discretionary powers vested in it under the Food and Drugs Act of 1906, in any ruling which it may see fit to promulgate, prohibit the manufacture and sale of some articles of food which it considers adulterated, but which many food experts may have decided to be wholesome and free from deleterious substances. It may prohibit the use of a label bearing the name by which such article has for many years been known to the public, if it considers such label to be false or misleading, although the majority of the people, and even the minority of the commission who have had a more extensive experience and knowledge in connection with the same, may dissent from its opinion. The same executive commission may, by virtue of its authority, under the same law, prohibit the use of labels which are duly registered trade marks, thereby destroying the use of properties which, by reason of long use, have become valuable assets of the parties which have so used them.

Under the Congressional Appropriation Act of 1907, the Secretary of Agriculture may, "whenever he has reason to believe that any articles are being imported from foreign countries which are dangerous to the health of the people of the United States," request the Secretary of the Treasury to refuse delivery of such articles to the consignee; and such request is mandatory upon the Secretary of the Treasury. It is true that these specific Acts now referred to provide that manufacturers and importers of food who may be accused of violations of such rules and regulations shall be granted hearings before the executive head of the Agricultural Department, but the decision of the question of criminal prosecution lies wholly with such executive official. On the other hand, the Secretary of Agriculture may, in his discretion, neglect or refuse to enforce the manifest purpose and intent of the laws above referred to, if he so desires.

Similar conditions prevail to a greater or less extent in nearly all executive departments of the Government, and the Federal courts cannot issue a writ of mandamus to compel an executive

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head of a department to perform his duties in accordance with the manifest purpose of an Act of Congress, as to those specific matters in which discretionary power has been delegated to such executive by such Act.*

A certain condition of affairs, alleged to have arisen under the powers granted to the executive head of the Post-office Department to make "rules and regulations," is well described in a memorable speech delivered by the Hon. Edward Dean Crumpacker, a member of Congress from Indiana, before the House of Representatives on April 11th, 1906, in discussing the Post-office Appropriation Bill then before the House, from which speech, as it appears in the Congressional Record, the following extracts are quoted:

"MR. CRUMPACKER. 'I understand there is a system of penalties imposed by the regulations of the Post-office Department. The gentleman must remember that that Department has legislative, executive and judicial powers combined. It exercises all the powers of the Government over the postal business of the country. . . .

"'The criticism that I am making is of the law and not of the officers, because I assume that they are performing their duties in accordance with the postal regulations or the law. I do not know which it is; possibly it may be both. . . .

"'There is a system of postal espionage in this country that is absolutely inconsistent with the spirit of free institutions, and it is not what should be expected in a land of law and liberty.

"'Post-office inspectors may lodge complaints with the Postmaster-General that the business of an individual is fraudulent. The Postmaster-General may be satisfied from the secret reports of the inspectors that there are some irregularities in the character of the business the particular individual is conducting, and he may peremptorily enter a fraud order and withhold from that individual the privileges of the mails, absolutely ruining his business and blasting forever his business reputation. When that citizen calls upon the Postmaster-General, asking permission to see the charges that have been made against him, he is informed that they are confidential and is refused the privilege.'"

There have also been many bitter complaints from a large number of citizens as to alleged unjust rulings by the executive officials of the Department of the Interior as to the methods of the disposition of certain Government lands, concerning which Congress has given to the Secretary of the Interior discretionary powers.

* See U. S. *vs.* Blaine, 139 U. S. 306; U. S. *vs.* Guthrie, 17 How. (U. S.) 284 and other citations thereunder.

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Recently a ruling issued by the Secretary of Agriculture proclaimed, in apparent contradiction to the intent and purpose of the Food and Drugs Act of 1906, that butter is exempt from certain provisions of the Act referred to, while other articles of food and drink are not favored with such exemption. This ruling is alleged to have been based upon a technical definition of the term by which the product referred to is usually known, created in a Congressional Act of a radically different nature and purpose over twenty years ago, which definition was so created by the words of that Act itself "for the purpose of this Act." Although often requested so to do, the executive head of the department referred to has refused to submit the legal phase of this question to the Department of Justice for an opinion thereon.

Congress frequently delegates to executive officials authority not only to make rules and regulations as to the conduct of the general *executive* business of their departments, but also delegates discretionary power in the promulgation of rules and regulations under certain statutory laws with reference to matters which are not specifically mentioned in such laws.

And the rules and regulations promulgated by executive heads of departments are endowed with the full force and effect of law, and are to be so regarded until the courts shall have decided that they are inconsistent with the statutory laws. Where the language in a statute is ambiguous and open to different interpretations, the construction put upon it by the executive department is regarded as decisive.*

Moreover, violations of the rules and regulations promulgated by the executive heads of departments, thus having the force and effect of law, are frequently punishable by severe penalties prescribed in general statutory Acts. Generally there is no provision for direct appeal by the accused person to the courts from such executive rulings. Persons who may believe that injustice has been done, that they have been discriminated against by such rules and regulations and that such rulings are not consistent with the statutory laws, must submit to the injustice, by compliance, or to the only alternative, which is an indictment and criminal prosecution for an alleged violation of such rules and

* See Brown *vs.* U. S., 113 U. S. 568; St. Paul, Minnesota, etc., Ry. Co. *vs.* Phelps, 137 U. S. 528, and other citations thereunder.

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regulations. Again, the rules and regulations prescribed to-day by an executive official may be stricken out and a new set of rules and regulations promulgated by him to-morrow, concerning the same subject. This may be done without any alteration whatever of the statutory laws, but simply by reason of a new interpretation of the law by the executive officer to whom the power to make rules and regulations is delegated by Congress.

Thus we may have the aspect of one person being subjected to a criminal prosecution, to-day, and perhaps sentenced to years of imprisonment, for the violation of an executive ruling; while another person may, to-morrow, commit the same act with impunity under new executive rulings, under the same statutory law. What can be more repugnant to the letter and spirit of our national Constitution?

In one division of the Treasury Department, the Division of Customs, the exercise of discretionary power by executive officials formerly worked so much injustice in the appraisal of importations under the tariff schedule that Congress found it necessary, under pressure of a popular demand, to create by the act of June 10th, 1890, a Board of General Appraisers, from whose decisions the importer may, under certain conditions, apply to the Circuit Court of the United States for a review of the questions of law and fact involved. However, there appears to be no such provision for appeal to the courts from the rulings of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, when approved by the Secretary of the Treasury; and it was only after a gigantic struggle in Congressional Committees and upon the floors of both Houses of Congress that the Act of Congress for the enlargement of the powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission, approved June 29th, 1906, was so amended as to provide an appeal to the courts, under certain conditions, from the decisions of the Interstate Commerce Commission, which Commission is practically a part of the executive branch of the Government.

In accepting delegated powers to construe Congressional acts which are general in their scope, and to make rules and regulations thereunder, the executive branch of the Government assumes great responsibilities and arbitrary power. Yet the Chief Executive of our Government is apparently requesting that Congress shall delegate still greater discretionary powers to the executive heads of Government departments.

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It was, perhaps, with a sense of such responsibility that the Hon. John W. Yerkes, Commissioner of Internal Revenue, when his advice was requested by the Committee on Ways and Means in the House of Representatives on February 7th, 1906, in consideration of the House Bill relating to free alcohol in the arts and manufactures, said: "I do not want a general bill, leaving everything to be determined as to methods, modes, processes, rules and regulations by the Department." In connection with the same bill, when he appeared before the Senate Committee on Finance on May 5th, 1906, he repeated the same statement, and further said: "There was my view with regard to the bill, and it indicates clearly that I did not want the scope of power and authority that is given under the House Bill."

It may, therefore, be noted that not all the executive officials of the Government are seeking greater discretionary powers in their respective departments.

The foregoing paragraphs are probably sufficient to indicate the general tendency of the executive branch of our Government to usurp the powers and functions of the legislative and judicial branches.

It is the belief of many of our best statesmen that the true intent and spirit of the Constitution are thus being thwarted, and that the fundamental principles of our Government are thus being gradually undermined.

Congress, as a body, appears to be slow to recognize the evils which result from the delegation of its powers to the executive branch of the Government. The judiciary conservatively guards against encroachments upon the legislative and executive branches of the Government, and generally refrains from interfering with the discretionary powers delegated by Congress to the executive heads of departments.

Upon a review of these conditions, questions naturally arise as to the proper remedy for the evils which thus appear. Is Congress, burdened with its multiplying duties, able to enact all the laws demanded by the people in forms so clear and specific, as to all the new problems of our rapidly growing industries and general business interests, that rulings by executive heads of departments shall be unnecessary, except as to the conduct of the persons working under them and the purely executive business of their respective departments? Is the executive branch of our

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Government exercising functions in excess of its constitutional powers? Are the citizens of our country performing their civic duties in fully and properly advising their representatives in Congress, and insisting upon proper legislation? Are the people of the various States neglecting the studies of political science and the practice of those civic virtues which make for good government? Are we to give the constitutional powers of the legislative and judicial branches of our Government, wholly or in part, into the hands of the executive?

The Hon. Elihu Root says, in his recent admirable book on "The Citizen's Part in Government":

> "More than all, our hopes must depend upon the general and active participation of the whole governing body of the American democracy in working out the problems and applying the principles of government with wisdom, with integrity, with just and kindly consideration for the rights of others—every citizen doing his full and manly duty for his country."

The sovereignty which is vested in the people may be maintained only by its proper exercise. Should we not, therefore, in the interests of personal rights and civil liberty, strive to abolish the evils of our political system as they appear, to the end "that the Government of the people, by the people, and for the people, shall not perish from the earth"?

ALBERT DEAN CURRIER.

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# THE STANDARD-OIL FINE.

BY FRANK D. PAVEY.

On August 3rd a fine of $29,240,000 was imposed by the Circuit Court of the United States at Chicago upon the Standard Oil Company of Indiana. The Standard Oil Company of Indiana is a corporation organized under the laws of Indiana with a capital stock of $1,000,000. This result is one which commands the attention of investors in the shares of any corporation and makes any examination or criticism of the character of the law and judicial procedure under which such an end was attained a matter of public interest.

On February 19th, 1903, Congress passed an act known as the Elkins Law to prohibit rebates, concessions or discriminations in freight rates. This act declares it to be unlawful for any person or corporation to offer, grant or give, or to solicit, accept or receive any rebate, concession or discrimination in respect to the transportation of any property in interstate or foreign commerce by any common carrier whereby such property shall be transported at a less rate than that named in the tariffs filed by the common carrier as required by the Interstate Commerce Act. Every person or corporation guilty of a violation of this law shall be punished by a fine of not less than one thousand dollars nor more than twenty thousand dollars. The person who gives and the person who receives the rebate, concession or discrimination are equally guilty.

Under the Interstate Commerce Act it is the duty of the railroads to file with the Interstate Commerce Commission schedules of their rates and charges which have been established and published in compliance with the requirements of the law.

The Standard Oil Company of Indiana was charged with the acceptance of a *concession* from the Chicago & Alton Railroad

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on various shipments of oil from Whiting, Indiana, to East St. Louis, Illinois. The rate paid by the Standard Oil Company was six cents per hundred pounds. The Government charged that the legal rate was eighteen cents. There was no question of a *rebate or discrimination.* The sole question was whether the Chicago & Alton Railroad had properly filed the rate of six cents with the Interstate Commerce Commission so as to make it the lawful rate. The decision of the Court was that it had not. The Standard Oil Company was found guilty of having shipped 1,462 car-loads of oil at the unlawful rate, and each car-load was treated as a separate offence. The Court imposed the maximum penalty of $20,000 for each of the 1,462 violations of the law; making a total fine of $29,240,000.

On the trial the Standard Oil Company contended:

First, that the lawful rate was six cents; and, second, that if six cents was not the lawful rate it was the rate issued to the Standard by the Alton as the lawful rate, and that the Standard was justified in believing from the railroad company that six cents was the lawful rate.

The question whether the lawful rate was eighteen cents or six cents depended upon technical points. The Standard Oil Company contended that the eighteen-cent rate was a "class" rate and not a "commodity" rate, and that the eighteen-cent "class" rate was never applied and never intended to be applied to oil. This question was complicated by the filing of rate sheets which fixed rates in part by reference to rate sheets previously filed and in part by new classifications. These details have little interest for the general public and no principle is involved which affects the substantial rights of shippers or investors.

Two questions are presented in the conduct of the trial which are of great interest to all shippers and investors. One is the question of the means which a shipper must employ to ascertain whether a rate issued by the railroad has been properly published and filed at Washington. The other is the question to what extent the wealth of individual stockholders in a corporation shall be made the basis for the computation of fines to be imposed on the corporation.

In support of its second defence the Standard Oil Company called as a witness its traffic-manager who testified that on each

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of the three occasions when he received the special billing orders naming the six-cent rate he had inquired of the rate clerk whether the rate had been filed and was informed that it had been. The Standard Oil Company further offered in evidence on the trial certain tariff schedules of the Chicago & Eastern Illinois Railroad for the purpose of showing that during the period covered by the indictment there was available to it and to the general shipping public, an open published lawful rate of six and one-fourth cents over the Chicago & Eastern Illinois Road from Whiting to East St. Louis. This rate was represented to be equal to the six-cent rate by the Alton Road by reason of certain terminal charges to which traffic by that route was subject at East St. Louis. The Court held that this fact was not admissible before the jury upon the question of guilt or innocence. In its decision the Court says:

"The real question here is whether the defendant accepted the concession knowingly, and in determining this it need not be affirmatively shown that the defendant had actual knowledge of the lawful rate. The defendant must be presumed to have known that which a diligent endeavor made by an honest man in good faith to ascertain the lawful rate would have disclosed to him."

This rule applied to the business of a great company, like the Standard Oil Company, with traffic-managers who devote their time to the study of rates and have unrestricted opportunity and unlimited resources to ascertain whether the rates which they wish to use have been properly filed with the Interstate Commerce Commission at Washington might not work much hardship when well understood. But the practical absurdity of the ruling is manifest when we reflect that it imposes upon every ordinary shipper the responsibility of knowing whether the railroad has performed its duty under the Interstate Commerce Law and properly filed all of its tariff schedules with the Interstate Commerce Commission at Washington. Under this ruling the giving of a rate sheet by a rate clerk of a railroad to the shipper together with the statement that the rates have been properly filed at Washington does not protect the shipper from the commission of a crime under the Elkins Law if as a matter of fact the tariff schedules have not been properly filed. The rate clerk may be telling the truth so far as he knows it. It is not within the province or the power of every rate clerk of a railroad to

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know whether all the tariff schedules of his road have been properly filed. He must depend for his information upon some other employee or officer of the road who is charged with the duty of filing the tariff schedules. But the shipper is not protected by acting in good faith upon the information given him by the rate clerk. It becomes his duty to know to a certainty that the tariff schedules fixing the rates which are offered to him have been properly filed at Washington.

When this point was urged upon the Court it was met in this way:

"The Court is not impressed by the doleful predictions of counsel for the defendant as to the hardships upon the honest shipping public to be anticipated from the enforcement of this rule. The honest man who tenders a commodity for transportation by a railway company will not be fraudulently misled by that company into allowing it to haul his own property for less than the law authorizes it to collect. For the carrier thus to deceive the shipper would be to deliberately incriminate itself, to its own pecuniary detriment, which it may safely be trusted not to do."

In these three sentences the Court dodges the logical force and effect of its own ruling. The ordinary honest shipper may trust the railroad and assume that the rates handed out by the rate clerk are lawful rates. But the Standard Oil Company of Indiana may not "assume" that the rates given out officially by the railroad with the statement that they have been properly filed are lawful rates. It must "know." The Court's theory that the railroad may be safely trusted not to deliberately incriminate itself by deceiving the shipper must have received a jar when it learned that the railroad in this case not only deceived the shipper but secured immunity for itself by turning State's evidence to convict the shipper.

Under the decision in this case the merchants and manufacturers of this country transact their business at the risk of a fine of $20,000 for each separate shipment made by them over any railroad at the rates officially furnished by the railroad as the lawful rates unless they know by personal investigation that the railroad has properly filed its tariff schedules at Washington.

The other point of interest to investors in the stock of every corporation engaged in making shipments of any character over any railroad is the method employed by the Court to determine the amount of fine which it would impose. This method was

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novel and introduces a new element into the calculations of all investors. The following is the statement made by the Court of its course on this point :

"For the guidance of the Court in determining the penalty to be fixed in this case, the Court requested counsel to furnish information as to what, if any, corporation held the stock of the defendant Standard Oil Company of Indiana; what the outstanding capital stock of such holding company was; and what its net earnings and dividends were for the three years covered by the indictment."

Counsel for the Standard Oil Company refused to give this information and thereupon the Court caused subpœnas to be issued requiring the presence before it of the principal officers of the Standard Oil Company of Indiana *and of the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey.* The subpœnas were duly served and the following statement of the result of the examination of these witnesses is found in the decision of the Court:

"On the examination of the president and secretary of the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, it appeared that a very large proportion of the stock of the defendant Standard Oil Company of Indiana was held by individuals for the stockholders of the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey; that the outstanding capital stock of the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey was approximately one hundred million dollars; that the annual dividends of that company during the three years covered by the indictment were approximately forty per cent., and that the net earnings for the period mentioned were approximately two hundred million dollars."

From these facts the Court defended the amount of its fine upon the ground that while the Standard Oil Company of Indiana was the nominal defendant the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey with its capital of $100,000,000 was the real defendant and that the fine was not excessive when measured by the property and income of the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey. It has been the boast of English and American jurisprudence that all men, rich and poor alike, were equal before the law, and yet we find this Court justifying the imposition of an enormous fine upon the ground that the stockholders of the company which must pay the fine are rich enough to sustain the confiscation of their entire investment in the company.

Why may not the same rule be applied to the stockholders of any corporation engaged in making shipments over the railroads?



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Let us suppose that any such corporation makes application to a railroad for rates upon shipments in carload lots covering a period of two years and in response to its application is given rates with the information that the tariff schedules have been properly filed with the Interstate Commerce Commission at Washington. After the expiration of two years it is found that the schedules were not properly filed at Washington and that the company has been accepting an unlawful concession and is liable for a fine of $20,000 upon each separate carload shipped at the unlawful rate. In order to ascertain whether the fine computed at that rate will be excessive the Court will institute an inquiry to ascertain who are the stockholders in the corporation and what is the amount of their property and income. If the Court finds that the stockholders of the corporation have large incomes from other business and other investments it will not consider it excessive to impose a fine equal to the total value of the assets of the corporation which has been convicted of the violation of the rate law upon the ground that they are the real parties in interest and are rich enough to bear the loss.

Investors in the stocks and bonds of all commercial and industrial companies are confronted by the fact that there exists in the statutes of the United States a law which makes it possible for a court to confiscate the entire property of a company in which they are investors as a penalty for the failure of a railroad company to properly file its tariff schedules at Washington.

FRANK D. PAVEY.

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# THE POSITION OF THE SECURITIES MARKETS.

BY ALLEN GREY HOYT.

In the expressive but exaggerated language of Wall Street, the condition of our securities markets is summed up in the comment that "bonds are unsalable." Without exaggeration, it may be said that the demand for investment securities is at the lowest ebb we have experienced since American finance was firmly established upon a gold basis in 1896.

The situation is reflected in the quotations governing the markets. Investment issues, practically without exception, are selling at prices from ten per cent. to fifteen per cent. lower than those which ruled two or three years ago. Finding it impossible to market their securities, one syndicate after another has been dissolved. As the bonds thus released have been thrown upon the market by tired holders who were glad to liquidate their interests even at a severe sacrifice, they have found a level eight to ten points below the prices at which it was anticipated they would be taken by investors. And many of these syndicates have been sponsored by leading bankers whose position is predicated upon their ability to presage the probable trend of the investment markets.

Some months ago, railroads and other corporations found it impossible to dispose of their long-term obligations except at extremely onerous rates, and therefore fell back upon the expedient of issuing high-interest-bearing short-time notes. Finally, the markets became gorged with this class of securities, and belated borrowers, even though railroads of high standing, if in exigent need of funds, were compelled to accept rates which would have been spurned by second-rate industrial corporations a year or two ago.

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The results of the sharp depreciation in the market value of securities have a serious aspect. Banking institutions with large holdings have been compelled to write off severe losses as, from time to time, they have been obliged to appraise their resources. The depreciation in the assets of some of the large insurance companies reaches millions of dollars, and every investor who owns a bond knows that the value in exchange of his security is much less than it was two or three years ago.

The conditions now prevailing in our markets cannot be ascribed wholly to local influences. Similar conditions are to be found in every other important financial centre. To illustrate the situation in Europe it is only necessary to refer to the sharp decline in the prices of German Imperial Bonds, French Rentes and English Consols. The significant fact stands forth that there has been a world-wide rise in the price paid for the use of capital, and the downward movement in the quotations for bonds has been the necessary corollary. At the lower prices they yield the increased return which capital now demands.

The causes that have brought about the appreciation in the general interest rate are numerous, but a few of them stand out prominently. Within a decade we have had two extremely costly wars, waged under the expensive methods of modern warfare. More recently, two important cities have been practically destroyed by earthquake. The republics of South America have been withdrawing gold from active use in Europe, as a basis of bank credits, to their own confines, where its function becomes a passive one of maintaining a steady ratio for a heretofore fluctuating paper currency. We have had lavish expenditures by municipalities both in the United States and abroad, largely conducted with borrowed funds, while Colonial and Government loans, issued for various purposes, have absorbed enormous sums from the markets.

A far more important factor than any of these influences has been the industrial activity enjoyed by practically all of the leading commercial nations. The foreign trade of nine States increased last year by no less than $1,500,000,000 over 1905. After having suffered depletion on account of wars, catastrophes and other extraordinary circumstances, the markets have not been in a position to supply the enormous demand for capital for industrial purposes. Commerce throughout the world has

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been advancing with rapid strides during the past few years, and, gaining momentum as it proceeded, it has now attained such proportions that it is straining almost to the breaking-point the resources of credit and capital upon which it depends.

Of the causes which have brought about this unprecedented industrial activity, the increasing output of gold is probably the most important. A large percentage of the metal raised has found its way into the money stocks of the world with a resulting rise in prices and at present the index number shows the general level to be at practically its highest point.

Rising prices, with the prospect of a steady demand, spell profits to the manufacturer and the merchant. In order to take advantage of the situation, the producer, as well as the distributor, increases his plant and enlarges his business in every way possible. His need for capital and credit increases proportionately.

In every industrial venture there are usually two classes of persons associated. One class supplies capital as partners in the enterprise. They take the risks, and, if the venture succeeds, they take the profits. The capitalist of the other class advances his funds merely as a lender or creditor. His risk is minimized, and he desires only the repayment of the amount he advanced, with interest. In a corporation, these two classes of investors, to use the term broadly, become the shareholders and the bondholders.

A period of expansion in business is accompanied by innumerable opportunities for investment by each class. As the rates paid to those who invest as creditors mount upward, so must the inducements offered with new issues of stock become by so much the more attractive, for any investor is offered a free choice as to which form of security he will select. Moreover, many stocks partake more or less of the nature of a bond; especially is this the case with certain preferred shares. Dividends of a specified rate are reasonably assured; and one buying such stocks knows that the risk of market depreciation is not appreciably greater than that incurred in buying long-term bonds. Therefore, large issues of either form of security absorb a certain amount of funds that would be available for investment in the other class.

We have seen an exemplification of the operation of these influences in the recent history of our railroad financing. As

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bonds and notes have been issued at constantly increasing rates, so have stocks been put forth at lower and lower prices.

The continuous inflow of gold into the money stocks of the world, during the past five or six years, has, of course, largely augmented bank reserves, and the volume of credit supported by these reserves has been enlarged by perhaps four or five times the amount of the metal increase. But the stimulation of trade resulting from the higher prices has so largely increased the demand for credit that interest rates have risen sharply, notwithstanding the increased reserves.

The managers of our railroads, however, have had much more to contend with than the increase in the price of capital. In order to handle the great volume of traffic pressed upon them, they have had to make enormous improvements without being able to reimburse themselves by higher tariffs. Public policy has demanded better terminal facilities, additional safety appliances and other improvements which do not directly increase income. The cost of operation and of improvements, on account of increasing wages and advancing costs of materials and equipment, has risen rapidly.

While laboring under the stress of these economic difficulties, the railroads were then called upon to face political onslaughts of a serious character. With or without justification, our Federal and State Governments developed a paternalistic attitude, which threatened to interfere with profitable operation even under more favorable conditions than those with which the roads were confronted.

Wall Street jumped to the conclusion that this political movement was the entire explanation of the difficulties with which the investment markets were suffering, just as in London, the City attributed the decline in Consols to the socialistic tendencies indicated in the programme of the recently elected Liberal Party,—quite overlooking the fact that securities wholly unaffected by these influences, such as municipal issues, for instance, instead of advancing as might have been expected on account of the diversion of funds from the threatened securities, showed the same declining tendency as those directly influenced.

However, to turn to our railroads again, the anti-corporation activity on the part of our legislatures did disturb confidence to some extent and by so far adversely affected security values.

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The rise in wages, instead of contributing to a proportionate increase in the savings of our wage-earners, has resulted in the development of extravagant tastes and habits; the accumulation of surplus funds available for investment has not increased correspondingly with the enlarged earning-power of the individual. Moreover, real estate, mining and other ill-conceived speculative ventures which always thrive during periods of prosperity, have resulted in the dissipation of tremendous sums.

The rapid increase in the erection of buildings and the development of suburban properties have contributed to raise the rates paid on real estate mortgage loans, and thus to attract funds that would otherwise be invested in securities. All of these tendencies have contributed to the extraordinary rise in the wages of capital and have left the markets practically bare of investment funds.

The situation finds many of the railroads in a serious dilemma. Some of them have great improvements but half completed, and they need funds with which to go on with the work. The condition of the investment markets makes it impossible to obtain these funds except at extremely high rates. On the other hand, to discontinue their undertakings will also entail enormous expense on account of the rapid deterioration of materials and tools, as well as of the incomplete work, itself, if abandoned in its present condition. Moreover, the improvements will not become productive until finished, and meanwhile the roads can expect no return upon the amount already invested in them. In view of the fact that many of these betterments are absolutely necessary to enable the railways to handle the traffic, the managers who have in charge the financing of the roads naturally feel that any political agitation which augments the difficulties with which they have had to contend is dangerous; that it may bring disaster to the railway corporations, and, if to them, inevitably to the country in general. In fact, it is difficult to imagine conditions under which the potential danger of restrictive legislation would be greater than at present.

What, then, does the future hold in store? Evidently, the same influences which are causing the disaffection of the markets will work their cure. The process may or may not be accompanied by complete prostration. High money rates directly affect the profits of every form of industry. High wages and

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high costs for raw material also are making inroads on net earnings. The general expansion of credit is beginning to make collections slow. All indications at present point to a recession in business.

Those railroads which are in a position to retrench are beginning to do so. Other corporations are undertaking few improvements or extensions unless they can be financed out of earnings. Many weaker corporations, finding it increasingly difficult to secure the necessary credit to carry on their business, are facing the possibility of bankruptcy. That there will be a general slowing down sufficient to relieve the strain on capital, there can be little doubt. Whether or not the retrograde movement will go further and result in complete stagnation is, of course, an open question. Undoubtedly, if at this critical juncture we were to experience a serious crop failure, if our corporations were to be handicapped by unwise legislation, or if we were to face any crisis, even though one which under ordinary circumstances we could safely weather, the effect would be extremely serious.

The wavering attitude of our stock-markets shows that the speculator is finding it exceedingly difficult to come to any conclusion as to the future. Presumably on account of the probable decline in the interest rate for capital, stocks will sell at prices which will show a smaller return upon the investment than that yielded at current quotations, but the same influences which will cause the lowering of interest rates may go so far as to bring about a reduction in dividends, and thus the outlook for stocks is much confused.

The interest on well-secured railroad bonds, however, notwithstanding the possible enactment of paternalistic or restrictive laws, will continue to be paid. Even in the event of a period of industrial depression, on account of the economic necessity of transportation, the danger of default is slight. Therefore, there seems little reason to doubt that a decline in the price of capital will have the effect of raising quotations for conservative railroad issues well above those now prevailing.

ALLEN GREY HOYT.

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# THE GAME OF THE FUTURE.

BY EMANUEL LASKER.

CHESS, the game of dreamers, comes from Asia, the home of all exquisite dreams of mankind. There originated philosophy and religion. Asia, indeed, is the mother of all our civilization; she discovered the reality and the power of justice and wisdom. Her misfortune is that her people have grown indolent and of dimmed perception. The modern nations believe in labor and accuracy of observation, hence their progress. Asia believes and has always believed in mind and spirit; she has created astronomy, mathematics, physics, a philosophy of art and life, and she has brought forth such men as Hammurabi, Buddha, Zoroaster and Confucius; but finally her strength became her weakness, by exaggeration. Had Bacon lived in Asia and taught his great lesson of the value of observation and experiment to the peoples beyond the Ural and the Behring Straits, the map of the world would probably be very different now. Yet, notwithstanding her failure to comprehend the power of discovering and correcting the errors of imagination and theory exerted by events as they actually occur, Asia is a vital factor in the world. The ideas of her ancient great men grow stronger as the years roll by. And of her fine dreams, Asia has had none subtler than the infinitely misunderstood, lightly esteemed, but ever-progressing and developing game of chess.

Some strategist, now long forgotten, invented the game to demonstrate concretely the power of the intellect in directing the movements of antagonizing forces. Whether he divined all that his thought implied, or not, he set himself a monument forever, though he forgot to carve his name on it. In the pleasing form of a game, he has given to the world the clay in which to mould strategic ideas.

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The rules of chess are known to many, though only superficially. The game is played by two opponents, on a square board divided into eight-by-eight compartments, with pieces of various shapes that are moved on the sixty-four squares according to certain rules. The players alternate in moving the pieces. As the game proceeds, they capture opposing pieces and remove them from the board. The object of the game is to capture the piece called the "king." Whoever achieves it wins. The rules are meant to imitate the mobility and the capacity for fighting possessed by soldiers of the antique type; but the particularities of the construction of the rules do not really matter, since they have no bearing on the intellectual content of the game and the intention of its unknown inventor to make it a game of combat and strategy.

Chess is the most ancient game known; it has survived until our time and its popularity is rapidly progressing among all civilized nations; its vitality bespeaks its competency to be the game of the future. Other facts add to the probability of its attaining this goal. The combative spirit finds in it innocent expression. It teaches strategy by experiments, as it were. And that its lessons are based on reason and true to nature may be shown by a rigid analysis which will here be attempted.

The events of a contest, though they impress first by the changes in power, wealth and happiness produced by them, have their most permanent influence in the moral they convey. Thus the incidents of the struggle for tolerance waged by the Christian Church against the Roman Empire have been forgotten, but the lesson of its outcome, that the welfare of society is based rather on love and charity than on power, has been an active force in the life of the world ever since. Again, though Galileo died in enforced retirement and was held as the vanquished in the opinion of his contemporaries, his last words, "*E pur si muove*," forever acclaim the liberty of the search for truth from the interference of dogma. And again, though the political changes of the French Revolution have been effaced, that event has left a lasting inheritance in the principle that opportunity must be equal for all.

However struggles might vary in their outward circumstances, there is a near relationship, amounting to almost an identity, in the moral lessons which they teach. From that aspect, war,

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competition, the search for beauty or truth, are akin to the game of chess. This is because the world is constructed on a principle of simplicity, economy and harmony. Though convictions as to the nature of the cosmic makeup cannot be deduced by logic, since they are basic and therefore unable to rest on other and simpler convictions, what here is assumed is in accord with often-repeated experience and with the profoundest thought of our best men who seek for unity and law, and for simplicity in that law, in physics, chemistry, biology and art. Hence we are at liberty to suppose the essential identity of the interpretation to be put on the successive and related events of struggles.

This liberty does not, of course, imply the license to extend any possible reading of the moral of the happenings of a contest to other contests. The principle asserts only that there is a way of interpreting a struggle so that the interpretation refers to all possible struggles—that, in other words, the story of every combat is an allegory, if the idea it conveys be rightly comprehended.

This view of the world is made compelling for him who passes through the evolution of a chess-player, and it is elaborated in detail by the modern theory and art of chess-play.

A beginner in chess moves without a purpose; he is guided by chance only. After many trials, he learns that it is profitable to capture opposing men and detrimental to lose his own, since the men represent so many resources for effecting the checkmate. Thus an appreciation of the first strategic law, that superiority of force is an advantage, is slowly evolved in him, but, at the outset, in a very imperfect state. Yet, such as he knows it, it serves the very useful purpose of surprising him by its failures to apply. He is thus led to think; and he finally comprehends that it is not the number of men that decides the issue, but the activity which they display in the fighting. He sees that greater activity usually goes with the greater number, but that it depends on other factors also. He tries to detect these other factors. The mystery incites his imagination; each game for him is a search for the truth that he dimly perceives, but which ever seems to evade capture.

When the mind is in this state of wonder, chess exerts a great charm on it; the impression of truth or natural law at its first half-unconscious inception is ecstasy—in fact, all ecstasy comes from incipient mental movements. The sentiment gains in

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strength when blind chance is eliminated. Since all factors that determine the outcome of a game of chess are subject to analysis and reason, the practise of chess is rich with the delight that comes from the hunting for evasive truths.

If the chess-player, arrived at this stage, has talent, experienced players say of him that he can see "combinations" and that he is full of surprises, but that he lacks "strength." His moves are individually fine, but they have no coherence; he is imaginative, but gives no evidence of being logical. As a chess-player, he is in the state of a savage whose senses are perfectly developed and whose mind is waking up to the perception of philosophic truth. When, by earnest and honest effort, he advances further, he is struck by the logic of events on the chess-board; he shapes himself a philosophy of chess, and thus, unconsciously, lays the foundation for a "style" of his own. From a tactician he becomes a strategist; instead of merely knowing how to profit skilfully from opportunities, he learns how to prepare them.

This evolution requires will-power and honesty, for there is constant temptation to slide into the easy path of opportunism. The acquired imaginative tactical skill is sufficient to win many games by setting "traps" or concocting surprising devices; and many players are therefore arrested from further development at this stage. Only he who is not content to win, but desires to win "by force"—that is, against any possible defence — ever overcomes the obstacles that vanity of applauded achievement, a desire to shirk irksome labor and other opposing factors pile in his way.

If the growing chessmaster, in this struggle against himself, is victorious, his brain gathers, from his experiences over the board and in analysis, a store of well-defined and true chess impressions; if vanity and uncritical subjectiveness overcome him, the impressions that he stores bear the stamp of these faults. Thus his "position judgment" is formed, and, if correct, it enables him, at a glance, to decide which side in a given position has an advantage; and his memory is stocked with a series of manœuvres and procedures adapted to certain types of positions and calculated to drive certain advantages home. Thus he learns how to methodically win an isolated pawn, or to exchange pieces when the end game is favorable, or to mass his pieces for an at-

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tack against the King, or to advance a chain of pawns on one of the wings, with his officers placed securely but effectively behind them, etc. For the execution of these operations he needs the imaginative faculty developed in the early stage of his evolution, and, in addition, the ability to form a plan and to follow it systematically to its logical end. In his final stage, he studies the merits and shortcomings of such plans, and he discovers that, to be successful, they must be founded on a quality akin to justice. He observes that no attack, however brilliantly executed or ingeniously conceived, can succeed by force unless it is based on a superiority of the aggressor, or on a weakness of the opponent's position.

Thus the master learns to abstain from attacks that lure the weaker players, but he acquires that economy of effort which makes the attacks that he undertakes direct and vehement and hard to repulse.

If "chess" were replaced in the foregoing discussion by struggle of another name and the technical details of the one substituted for the other, the description would still remain true. Acquisition of skill or knowledge or moral ideas follows essentially the same pathways independent of the subject or environment. The phases of evolution comprise always a technical or tactical part; a process of deepening imagination so that it becomes fit to discover a logical plan, or programme, of operations; a comparative study of such plans; and, lastly, the acquisition of the greatest economy in their execution.

And the forces which oppose progress are essentially the same as in chess; the subjective view, prejudice, temptation to obtain cheap successes, striving for applause rather than for sterling achievement, a desire to shirk labor that is unrewarded except in furthering self-evolution.

The theory of chess teaches the principle of measuring the values of the pieces by their capacity for achievement, and that a player of infinite skill would obtain from his pieces a degree of useful activity in exact proportion to these capacities. It asserts the extreme importance of economy of effort in defence, of justice in offense and of economy of time, or rather of "*tempo*," in development. It thus reads like a philosophy or a code of morality.

Hence, chess is a mirror of life; it shows how existence would

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be if chance were entirely eliminated, and opportunity even. To this extent it pictures the various phases of life true in every detail. The whole drama of temptation, sin and punishment, of conflict, effort and victory of justice, is there depicted in miniature.

Such a game can never die; and, as the world advances, and mind and intellect attain progressively higher values, the practice of chess, with its facility for easy entertainment, and with the variety of its deeply human and yet logical parts, is bound to become the universal pastime.

EMANUEL LASKER.

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# NEW BOOKS REVIEWED.

BY ROYAL CORTISSOZ, CHRISTIAN GAUSS, AND JULIUS CHAMBERS.

## HOWELLS'S "THROUGH THE EYE OF THE NEEDLE." *

THIS book, which is good to read for its own sake, is also provocative of reflection on its many predecessors and on the qualities which give a kind of unity to all of Mr. Howells's works. Since it is a romance the critic must be on his guard against taking it as the author's profession of faith; yet in fiction, as in every form of literature, a man is bound, sooner or later, to be held responsible for a certain body of ideas, and on this occasion the temptation is strong to touch upon Mr. Howells's general way of thinking and feeling. We all know the ideal disclosed in his first books. He sought to give a truthful report of what he saw. This comes out in his early fiction, and in his early essays or notes of travel. Even in "Venetian Life," that delightful volume of impressions, in the writing of which he might have been pardoned for letting the recording of facts wait upon the imaginative handling of picturesqueness, he made no sacrifice of nature to art; and in the best of all his earlier novels, "A Modern Instance," it was first and last his fidelity to life that counted. His solicitude for the truth amounted to a passion, and what he has practised he has been at pains to preach. His enthusiastic advocacy of realism, when the revival of the "cloak and sword" school set all the critics by the ears, is well remembered. He is to-day the same seeker after truth—with a somewhat different point of view.

It is not that he has abated one jot of his convictions, but that the long years have subtly altered the perspective in which life presents itself to him; the light is softer, mellower, and the emo-

* "Through the Eye of the Needle. A Romance. With an Introduction." By W. D. Howells. New York: Harper & Brothers.

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tions roused in the artist are somehow more tenderly sympathetic. "A Modern Instance" was the work of one who saw his fellow man clearly and understood him. "Through the Eye of the Needle" shows as clear a vision and as thorough an understanding, but something has been added—something which you call humanitarian until you perceive, in the first place, that that is too portentous a word, and, secondly, that the secret really lies in just the ripening of the author's charm. He was always whimsical and gentle, but now these traits are a little more in the foreground. He is lovable where he was wont to be merely interesting. He was always patient with the foibles of his people, but now there is a twinkle in his eye as he satirizes them, and a demure good nature about his exposure of this or that defect in the social scheme. He has lost nothing of his earnestness. "Through the Eye of the Needle" is profoundly sincere. But he has so developed the golden gift of persuasion which he has possessed from the beginning that he uses it to-day with a delicacy of touch extraordinarily winning.

Never has he wedded substance and style more skilfully than in his latest work. Largely this must be due to nothing more nor less than plain human sympathy, the reaction of matter upon manner. Partly also it must come from his incessant activity as an essayist. Those monthly pages of his in the back of "Harper's Magazine," pages treating of innumerable questions along lines constantly varied but never violent or bitter, have meant, after all, so much experience, and, having written them, he cannot shake off their prevailing tone. His readers must be only the more grateful, especially the readers of this book. In it he indicts the modern world as that world is represented by New York, and paints a picture of better things. The disordered, incongruous and utterly unnatural city is shown side by side with the perfect one. The latter, of course, is an invention, a vision—one more of those impossible fabrics with which men have beguiled themselves for centuries. But it has two merits which are commonly absent from dreams of the sort. It is not marked by that excessive particularity, as regards administrative and mechanical detail, which is so apt to betray the speculative romancer; it exhibits the virtues rather of a state of mind than of a physical system. Moreover, in all that relates to either the ugliness of our world or the beauty of his "Altruria," the author writes with

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tact and even with sweetness. The counts in his indictment of New York are not angrily set forth in high relief; they crop out, half humorously, by the way. His portraits are drawn with many little touches, some of them—and these often the most effective—seeming merely casual and quite unpremeditated. Take, for example, the sketch of the woman who initiates Mr. Aristides Homos, the traveller from Altruria, into the mysteries of one of our latter-day domestic interiors, the home (?) of a New-Yorker and his wife in a typical apartment-house. Says the supposititious narrator:

"She is that Mrs. Makely whom I met last summer in the mountains, and whom you thought so strange a type from the account of her I gave you, but who is not altogether uncommon here. I confess that, with all her faults, I like her, and I like to go to her house. She is, in fact, a very good woman, perfectly selfish by tradition, as the American women must be, and wildly generous by nature, as they nearly always are; and infinitely superior to her husband in cultivation, as is commonly the case with them. As he knows nothing but business, he thinks it is the only thing worth knowing, and he looks down on the tastes and interests of her more intellectual life with amiable contempt, as something almost comic. She respects business, too, and so she does not despise his ignorance as you would suppose; it is at least the ignorance of a business man, who must have something in him beyond her ken, or else he would not be able to make money as he does.

"With your greater sense of humor, I think you would be amused if you could see his smile of placid self-satisfaction as he listens to our discussion of questions and problems which no more enter his daily life than they enter the daily life of an Eskimo; but I do not find it altogether amusing myself, and I could not well forgive it, if I did not know that he was at heart so simple and good, in spite of his commerciality. But he *is* sweet and kind, as the American men so often are, and he thinks his wife is the delightfulest creature in the world, as the American husband nearly always does. They have several times asked me to dine with them *en famille;* and, as a matter of form, he keeps me a little while with him after dinner, when she has left the table, and smokes his cigar, after wondering why we do not smoke in Altruria; but I can see that he is impatient to get to her in the drawing-room, where we find her reading a book in the crimson light of the canopied lamp, and where he presently falls silent, perfectly happy to be near her.

"Of course her dog must be there; and one evening after her husband fell asleep in the armchair near her, the dog fell asleep on the fleece at her feet, and we heard them softly breathing in unison.

"She made a pretty little mocking mouth when the sound first became audible, and said that she ought really to have sent Mr. Makely out with the dog, for the dog ought to have the air every day, and she had been



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kept indoors; but sometimes Mr. Makely came home from business so tired that she hated to send him out, even for the dog's sake, though he was so apt to become dyspeptic. 'They won't let you have dogs in some of the apartment-houses, but I tore up the first lease that had that clause in it, and I told Mr. Makely that I would rather live in a house all my days than any flat where my dog wasn't as welcome as I was. Of course they're rather troublesome.'"

How revealing this is, and how genial; how free from the patronage of sharpness, or the hint of caricature, which novelists with a grievance against their own era so often give us! Mr. Howells writes, indeed, not as a reformer with a grievance, but simply as a lover of his kind, perturbed over current errors but too wise to let them warp his judgment. As in his accurate study of the present, so in his hopeful thoughts of the future he is entirely sane and plausible. His Altruria is of goodness and common sense all compact; it is not fantastic. He has touched these things before, but this time with the more feeling and the finer art. The note he struck so many years ago and to which he has ever since been loyal, the note of kindly truth, is sounded in this romance in even greater fulness and richness. It is a sterling book for a veteran author to give to the world, a book gathering up the hope and courage that fire the heart of youth.

ROYAL CORTISSOZ.

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## "LAST WORDS ON EVOLUTION." *

ERNST HAECKEL has now reached the biblical years of threescore and ten, and tells us that his age will prevent him from again appearing in public. The pronouncement has its pathos, for the veteran professor has for nearly half a century carried on in Germany the battle for Darwin and Evolution. He has been perhaps its ablest champion; he has certainly been its boldest. Since the beginning of that great intellectual combat in Germany, he has made himself the target for the shafts of its opponents. They have attacked his science, and with the peculiar bitterness engendered by that conflict, they have attacked his personality. Unlike the gentle Darwin, he could not allow such attacks to pass unanswered and he has replied occasionally in no measured terms. It may be said in his praise, however, that he

* "Last Words on Evolution: A Popular Retrospect and Summary." By Ernst Haeckel. New York: Peter Eckler.

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has never descended to invective and abuse. He has fought fairly, with unwavering conviction, with undaunted courage. He had a genius for titles, "The History of Creation," "The Riddle of the Universe." Age has not robbed him of this talent, and the present volume is sent out into the fray under the ringing caption, "Last Words on Evolution." After reading his book one may find oneself in accord with much that is told or retold therein; with the *justesse* of the title, however, neither scientist nor philosopher will agree. Haeckel's last words, if you will, but the last words on evolution they certainly are not. Some years ago many thought that the Synthetic Philosopher had already pronounced those last words; to-day you could count his adherents among philosophers of note on the fingers of one hand. If, by his title, the author intended to convey the idea that his book has in it anything really approaching finality, he doubtless believed it to lie in that philosophy of monism which is so highly lauded by his translator. But of this more anon.

His book is interesting for many reasons. Not the least of these will be its excellent presentation by a scientist of the first rank of a question that is in itself somewhat abstruse. It has been made more so by incompetent and unscrupulous popularizers who here, as elsewhere, have taken advantage of the modern fret for information of whatever sort. Professor Haeckel avoids phraseology that smells of the laboratory, yet his meaning is everywhere clear. In his own words, the work of his life has been "the advancement of knowledge by the spread of the idea of evolution." Occasionally he has done more than this. He has spread the idea of evolution in advance of present knowledge. Thus he has, with great pains, with much acumen, and no little conjecture (which is not knowledge) built the genealogical tree of the human race, going forward unabashed through those barrens in which data are lacking, and down the troubled paths where the evidences of geology and biology do not as yet entirely correspond and occasionally even contradict. He traces our descent from the acrania, a skull-less form somewhat similar to the living lancelet, through the cyclostoma, to fishes, dipneusts, amphibia, reptiles, mammals. Among the last our immediate ancestor is the pithecanthropus, or ape-man. All this is done with much circumstantiation, and in its completeness his tree reminds us somewhat of the similar tree of a certain Austrian

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house which carries us all the way back to the Flood. The family has in addition a portrait which shows us Noah taking off his hat to the founder of their line. One wonders what the illustrious ancestor did when Noah turned on his heel and entered the Ark. Occasionally similar doubts perplex us here. Though we all of us go back as far as Noah, it takes much patient research and a strong sense of family pride to establish beyond cavil such a genealogy. Certain advocates of the dignity of our genus have protested against some of these bars sinister in our past, and Haeckel's tree has proved a fruitful subject of controversy among biologists and palaontologists. If his tree is still very largely a matter of conjecture, for his main thesis, the mutability of species, Haeckel has adduced practically irrefutable evidence through his researches on radiolaria, and this is no mean service to the cause of evolution.

Haeckel will doubtless be remembered as one of the greatest scientists of his time. He has helped to do for Germany what Darwin did for England, and this in the face of an opposition which, if not more virulent, has at least been more lasting. As his scientific theory approached completeness he began to see in it the solution of all great fundamental problems. He began to substitute a system of science for a philosopher's theory of the universe, and from being a very excellent scientist he has become a very mediocre philosopher. Under his clairvoyant gaze, the original nebulous mist which the earth was, or was not, resolves itself into a world of perfectly developed species, even as the Milky Way under the telescope resolves itself into stars. The idea of evolution has become a sort of conjuror's hat out of which, with a little sleight-of-hand, Haeckel and his followers extract answers to any kind of question, if they do not, as sometimes happens, cavalierly deny the existence of any problem at all. Thus we are told that memory is a function of certain compounds of carbon; free will is not only an illusion, it is a delusion. We are made to feel that we have it when in reality we do not. He has sometimes been called an atheist, but denies the allegation; yet if there is a god in Haeckel's world he adheres so rigorously to his policy of non-intervention that it is impossible to be aware of his presence, and we cannot see how he comes into it unless it be *ex machina,* an hypothesis which Haeckel's scientific attitude forbids him to admit. He is a mere haggard

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abstraction, and the logical principle of economy would exclude him. He is nothing more than La Place's useless hypothesis.

All this is part of the much-vaunted philosophy of Monism, usually spelled with a capital. What these monists have to say on free will we had already learned from the determinists; their contribution lies almost entirely in the magic word, process. This is the solvent which erodes and swallows up all old-fashioned difficulties. An objector might suggest that it makes of them only a saturated solution. Haeckel's main thesis is "the mechanical character of all physical and psychic activity, the unity of organic and inorganic life." This once established, we can disregard all distressing questions of metaphysic, all pettifogging epistemology, and all chimerical teleology. Previous philosophers had merely been battling with the mists. We have had philosophies based on numbers, like that of Pythagoras, or on history, like that of Hegel, but the monism based on the evolutionary process possesses the cardinal advantage of being immensely more simple. There are but two main categories, time and quantity. There can be no differences except of quantity. His intelligence man shares with the beasts, and in the end, as Goldwin Smith has said, "he lies down and dies like the dog."

How rapid the evolution of ideas occasionally is, we can see when we remember that Novalis, who has been dead little more than a century, could say that Philosophy bakes us no bread, but gives us God, freedom, and immortality. The three boons which the master science once conferred have been taken away. In Novalis's definition they have allowed her to retain only her inability to bake us bread.

One must distinguish carefully between Haeckel's monism and the monism of such other thinkers as Professor Royce, for example. As a system of philosophy the idea is not new, though the word may be. There is, too, the older monism of Spinoza, if we but choose to call it so, for his doctrine of substance is every whit as monistic and much more philosophical than this later creed. There is, too, a very nice problem, which, in spite of his monism, Spinoza thought it worth while to consider. Standing off, and looking at a heated plate of metal, we perceive it as white. As a matter of fact, it is hot, and its prepotent and important attribute is not its whiteness, but its heat. Before setting up a philosophy, might it not, therefore, be well to in-

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vestigate the relation and correspondence, or lack of correspondence, between our world of ideas and the external world of reality? To say that psychic activities are merely functions of compounds of carbon would, in this case, explain nothing. We still have no guarantee that the thing we remember is the record of anything that actually happened.

It would likewise be wrong to imply that there is any close similarity between Spinoza and Haeckel. The real congeners of Haeckel's philosophy are to be found largely in the Eighteenth Century. To us there is no fundamental difference between the present philosophy and Holbach's "System of Nature" and Helvetius's "*De l'Esprit.*" Where Haeckel says process, Helvetius and Holbach said chance or necessity, and where there is no aim to the process we do not see that there is any particular difference. Perhaps we are old-fashioned, but it does seem as if Haeckel's philosophy were inadequate in its conclusions, and what is more serious, restricted in its outlook upon life. For him, reality, at its best, can be measured with a yardstick; at its worst, with the micrometer calipers. It considers, after all, but a single set of phenomena, but one aspect of the truth. He has carefully circumscribed a system of facts, leavened them with a conjecture to make them a unit, and then explained them with an "Eureka." This is as easy as setting up a man of straw and knocking him down again. We will not say that it is as unprofitable, for on Haeckel's part it has been an earnest endeavor to solve problems that deeply concern us all. His training as a scientist has stood in his light as a philosopher. That part of his work which deals with science shows him an investigator who will stand with the foremost of his century. He has the rare distinction of having contributed materially to the sum of human knowledge. But all this science has here become only the stair to his philosopher's tower of ivory. To us this tower is a mere castle in Spain, and the last words on evolution are still unuttered.

CHRISTIAN GAUSS.

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## NEW MEMORIES OF BEACONSFIELD.*

THE most bizarre figure that has attained preëminence in English politics since Charles James Fox is that of Benjamin

* "Lord Beaconsfield and Other Tory Memories." By T. E. Kebbel. New York: Mitchell Kennerley, 1907.

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Disraeli. He pretended to have opened his heart to his countrymen in his early novels, and in his latest years the reviewers asserted that "Lothair" and "Endymion" were only continuations of his autobiography. But the real man was always masked behind a semi-Oriental nature. His contemporaries in public life seldom fathomed the subtleties of his indirection in dealing with affairs of state. His policy never was to grapple with grave issues in the open; and, after Disraeli loomed large above the political horizon, Gladstone, his inevitable antagonist, adopted many Disraelian tricks of debate,—circumlocutionary methods for attaining desired ends.

Preëminently, Disraeli would not have suffered from a Boswell, and the best features of Mr. Kebbel's volume are those that have the Boswellian flavor. Before the days of stenography, Johnson's reports of Edmund Burke's speeches made the orator immortal: doubtless there was much more of Johnson in them than Burke: but Boswell did for Johnson what nobody yet has done for Disraeli. Lord Rowton, who, as Montagu Corry, served as his long-while secretary, produced a starched biography of the statesman that fell far short of disclosing the man's personality. Rowton gave to a lay figure the birth certificate and the chief characteristics of a masterly career.

The real Disraeli has remained an enigma. Beginning as a Radical, scoring a dead failure in his first address in the Commons, this man swerved into Toryism at the Tattenham Corner of his first race for precedence, developed a speed with which his associates had not credited him and finished a career at the Congress of Berlin in imperial glory.

How did it come about? For the first time, we are afforded an insight into the life of this promulgator of Imperial Britain,—not its creator, as Lord Rowton would have us to believe, for that honor must be accorded to Clive, Wolfe and others. Mr. T. E. Kebbel, a veteran Tory journalist of London, has supplied much new information about Disraeli, and yet he has stopped short of what one would suppose he might have furnished. The position of invited guest at Hughenden gave to him a handicap that any man of strict sensibilities might feel; but his book is an important acquisition to the recent political chronicles of England. We learn therein how a young Jewish coxcomb, who started as a *flâneur,* was enabled to steady himself by marrying a fortune,

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and to develop himself into the second personality among English statesmen of the Nineteenth Century. The first place is accorded to Wellington, only because of his transcendent opportunities and the glamour that attaches to a supremacy attained by the sword rather than by statecraft alone. During his Premiership, however, the hero of Waterloo never executed any *coup* of such everlasting benefit to commercial Britain as was Disraeli's offhand acquisition of the Suez Canal.

Some of Mr. Kebbel's comment upon people met at Hughenden is delightfully candid. There he first saw Mrs. Disraeli, "and you do not see every day in the week such a couple as they made. The contrast was striking. There wasn't anything of the fine lady about her. I dare say, she frequently *astonished* those who had much of her society." We may only guess at the meaning of some words in this paragraph; but when we remember that the lady who later became Countess of Beaconsfield had been the widow of a city merchant, it isn't unlikely that eccentricity in the use of the Queen's English was one of her characteristics.

Hughenden, when Mr. Kebbel began to visit there in 1864, was famous for its sandwiches, although guests never were able to tell with what meat or fowl they were larded. They were served with a glass of sherry upon the slightest excuse. A bevy of peacocks, brought from Lebanon, were the pets of the place during Beaconsfield's life, and the memorialist tells a pathetic incident regarding the adoption of the beautiful Birds of Paradise by Queen Victoria, at the death of their owner. Many trees about the big house came from the East. Disraeli wasn't a sportsman in any sense; he never had a gamekeeper, and only kept a pair of carriage-horses at his Buckinghamshire home. These "Memories" are most interesting when they approach the Boswell standard. In a few instances, they attain high-water mark, as, for example, in a dainty Hughenden incident when the statesman says to his devoted spouse, who didn't live to see him Premier, "You know I married you for your money, my dear." "That's true," she answered, "but if it were to be done over to-day you'd marry me for love?" "Indeed I would," adds Disraeli, closing the scene with a kiss. Could anything be sweeter or prettier?

Based upon the authoritative statement of the lady herself, Mr. Kebbel announces that down to a year before her death,

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Madam Disraeli had expended from her own fortune one hundred thousand pounds—half a million dollars—toward the "promotion" of her husband. Here, for the first time, do we have an approximation of the cost of exploiting an ambitious young Briton!

An attempt is made to remove the general impression that Disraeli was always cynical. Mr. Kebbel asked a favor for a friend that brought this characteristic reply: "My acquaintance with Mr. —— was slight: he borrowed of me a not inconsiderable sum, but I never heard from him again. I do not overappreciate gratitude, nor am I inclined to be exacting in such matters."

This volume covers the field of British Toryism for the past fifty years. Mr. Kebbel's anecdotes of the Tory Clubs, Tory Journalism and Tory Sportsmen are like cloves in a choice Westphalia ham. Every prominent character of the Disraelian era figures in some incident. The cleverest words Thackeray uttered about great men were arranged thus: "They may be as mean on many points as you or I, but they carry their great air. They speak of common life more largely and generously than do common men. They regard the world with a manlier countenance and see its real features more fairly than do timid shufflers who only dare to look at life through blinkers." Such, we judge, is the view-point from which Mr. Kebbel, essayist and leader-writer, chose to study his political idol and patron. Long before he met the leader of the "Young England" coterie, Mr. Kebbel had placed upon a pedestal the author of "Vivian Gray" and "Coningsby." In his Liberal period, Disraeli hadn't much respect for the Established Church; but when he turned Tory he developed a powerful reverence therefor. Toryism had, as it still has, for corner-stone the indissolubility of the relations between Church and State. Thus it happens that when "Sybil" appeared, its author was seen to have swung into line with Anglicanism. Gladstone always had been an adherent of the Church founded by Henry VIII,—a monarch for whose morals and those of his Stuart successors Disraeli often expressed disgust. A feature of Disraeli's career that Lord Rowton overlooks is brought out by Kebbel. For more than a hundred years, Disraeli claimed, the Government had been secretly or openly directed by a few great families, some of whose members had contrived to effect lodgment in whatever Ministry was in power. Dis-

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raeli frankly preferred a real monarchy to a sham one, like that existent during the reigns of the first and second Georges, at which period, he declared, the Sovereign was nothing more than a Doge! Such views were the guide of his life from the hour in which he became a Tory until he created his Sovereign "Empress of India."

The domestic incidents of this wonderful man's life will chiefly interest the American reader. At his home, Disraeli would stand for hours, with his back to a log fire, talking or in deep thought. His hands were generally placed upon his hips, an attitude that recalls the late Governor Tilden as seen in the executive-room of the old brown-stone Capitol at Albany. A warm personal friendship, we are assured, always existed between Disraeli and Gladstone. However caustic these men's tongues might be in referring to each other on the floor of the House of Commons, Disraeli in private always spoke with admiration of his great rival. Lady Beaconsfield told Mr. Kebbel that after a particularly acrimonious passage at arms in the House, Gladstone would always call at Grosvenor Gate "just to show that he bore no malice."

Disraeli was an admirer of men of the Lord John Russell type,—"men with pluck enough for twenty." To indulge his humor, says Kebbel, Disraeli in all stages of his career was "fond of talking about great men and great times, without express references to his contemporaries. I have heard him speak highly of Atterbury and his offer to proclaim James III in his lawn sleeves. This was the kind of daring,—the nothing-venture-nothing-have principle,—that appealed to him." And then Kebbel adds a fine touch: "I dare say he may have repeated to himself on one or two occasions Atterbury's exclamation, 'Here's the finest cause in Europe lost for want of spirit!'" Thus we behold, outlined as in black and white, the character of Beaconsfield! There are scores of such side-lights in this volume. In his earlier career, for example, Disraeli had been a writer for the newspapers, and to the day of his death he clung to the belief that he would have made a great editor. He was constantly threatening to found "an organ of deep thought." Several American exploiters of the "long-felt want" could have enlightened my Lord of Beaconsfield.

JULIUS CHAMBERS.

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# WORLD-POLITICS.

PARIS: WASHINGTON.

PARIS, *August, 1907.*

FOR three blissful months, there will be no sitting of the Chamber, few Cabinet meetings, no political case in the courts, nothing loud, nothing feverish in a country that is nearly always under high pressure. The only thing to remind us that we live in a republican land, whose citizens have a right to interfere in public affairs, will be a few after-dinner speeches, and they will be so dignified, so moderate, so much in the tone of the Peace Conference that they will seem unreal and leave us at liberty to dream that ours is a country in which it is always afternoon. Let us, then, let politics alone, as they let us, and take a quiet survey of the literary commonwealth.

Is it a mistake to imagine that we are nearly always less drawn to the classics of a modern literature than to the exponents of its latest and too often tawdry development? Certainly, there is more talk in Paris about Oscar Wilde than about Shakespeare, —though "Julius Cæsar" narrowly missed being the play of the year,—and somehow I am under an impression that so much attention was accorded in English-speaking countries to the realism of Zola and the decadentism of Verlaine and Mallarmé that for a time, in England and America, French Literature was identified with their names. It is, I am afraid, a common error of all who wish to delve under the surface to mistake at first singularity for rarity, and the admiration of a clique for the promise of fame. Others than foreigners are taken in by appearances. It takes an exceptionally good head or long experience to detect charlatanism, crudeness or obviousness under a pompous or abstruse theory of art. How was one to suspect, until his note-books were published, that such a prolific and, in

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some respects, powerful writer as Zola had worked out his theory of the naturalistic novel from the cheapest text-books? Could any one who came near such a fascinating talker as Mallarmé imagine that his symbolism was moonshine, and that less than ten years after his death his sealed book would no longer be a source of wonderment, but one of endless merriment? A novelist who only aims at telling stories and a poet who is content with writing verse are easily classed: but when they talk Darwinian or Wagnerian profundities over their songs or puppets, one is only too apt to credit them with an overawing philosophy.

The fact is that, excepting some three or four hundred lines of Verlaine's, which forcibly recall about as many of Villon's, and which will live by very much the same charm, the rest of the decadent production was admired exclusively by impostors who called themselves initiated, and has totally and forever disappeared from our literature.

As to Zola, even in his lifetime, he had been given up, with unnecessary publicity, by the brothers Margueritte and many more of his disciples, who felt that there was enough in them to make their writings literature and not literary documents.

The Parnassian School has also become practically a thing of the past. Who has not read with pleasure some highly wrought jewel—like a Sonnet of Heredia's,—or admired the cunning with which Le Comte de Lisle succeeded in making words act on the mind like sculpture? But who has not also promptly felt a surfeit of those effects, when, page after page, he met with the same glittering or embossed epithets, and never a tone of human tenderness? And who ever tried his hand at an imitation of those polished pieces but did not find at once that their apparent finish was easier than Musset's carelessness?

The transformation in French poetry during the past fifteen years is certainly in the right direction. When you ask a coming man what school he belongs to, he may tell you that, until he was twenty, he theorized with M. Ernest Lajeunesse or M. St.-Georges Bouhélier; but the smile on his lips leaves you no doubt that these youthful predilections appear to him at present like the blind efforts of a chrysalis to escape from its coccoon. The fact is he belongs to no school, and M. St.-Georges Bouhélier himself, the moment he ceased to talk about the works he was to produce, and did produce some work, lost not only his disciples

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and schools, but his very principles, and he is at present humbly and honestly trying to rise from the theatres on the "Boulevard Extérieur" to those which he used to revile when he was young and *nil* and famous. There is no chance to-day for a literary theory founded on a more abstruse principle than that man takes most interest in man.

I was reading, the other day, in the "*Mercure de France*"—which is still one of the best French literary magazines and the most open to all sorts of sincere efforts—an article by Tancrède de Vizan, in which were set forth the ideals of what is called "the new symbolism." What is the good of giving such a name to such a simple thing? The new symbolist's creed consists in avoiding the systematic appearance of both Parnassians and Decadents in talking no jargon, and seeking to express all the soul's attitudes, including specially the most evanescent.

One may regret that the stress should be laid on the expression of rare and elusive mental states, as if Othello were coarse compared with Hamlet. The pleasure of catching glimpses of "soul landscapes" by infinitely quick flashes is not quite wholesome yet, and the result is that a great deal of these young men's poetry looks like Loti done into verse. Still, perfect sincerity and the broadest outlook are what they recommend, and this ideal entails industry, honesty and intelligence, and must some day result in the production of really human works. What draws the public to the poems of, for instance, the Countess of Noailles? Certainly the boldness of her defiant paganism, but, above all, a few sparks of sincere emotion springing, in a few passages, from under her awkward or pretentious expression. The same ought to be said of Henri de Régnier, and of his numerous disciples. The public taste is rapidly ceasing to be in favor of all over-refinement, of the elaborately obscene, the quaintly graceful reminding one of a minuet, the would-be profound, and is reverting unconsciously to the manly realism of the classics and the Greeks.

I have no doubt that one most powerful poet, a man with a wonderful range of emotion and a unique culture, appreciated so far by only the few best judges, Auguste Angellier, will soon force his plain and strong ideal on the rising generation.

This simplification is especially remarkable in the prose of the last twenty years. It is in vain that the average French writer

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aims or pretends to aim at depth, vast erudition or even extensive experience. His native qualities are the common sense and lucidity of expression which are the universally acknowledged groundwork of the best French literature. When he tries to put on German philosophy or Anglo-Saxon imagery, he soon looks obscure, turgid and affected.

It is this revenge of the classic spirit on romantic affectation that we are witnessing. Renan, whose object was always to impress his reader with an idea that he only thought of the matter of his books, and never of their form, felt that his best chance of being original was to return to a quiet, direct style of writing, and to seek the picturesque effect which the modern man requires everywhere by the skilful use of a very few adjectives. His unparalleled success was a lesson eagerly learned by such men as Jules Lemaître and Anatole France, the latter, especially, who has made for himself a language of Greek simplicity, but composed, like the metal of Corinth, of the best in our classical periods, and of admirable flexibility.

This pupil of many masters has won numberless disciples, and the lovers of French literature ought to thank him for the almost universal return to honesty and charity which gives at present an antediluvian appearance to what is left of decadent sophistication. It is a fact that more than one writer who had squandered his talents in trying to give them the appearance of genius has had the sense to forswear grandiloquence and to adopt the honest expression under which pretentiousness cannot be hidden, but strength appears more manly. There is no more notable instance than Maurice Barrès: it will always be pointed out as a most unfortunate mistake that a man who might have been the Châteaubriand of his age should have waited until he was famous to condescend to be intelligible.

There seems to be every reason to suppose that French literature is on the way to complete recovery from the disease of affectation, systems and formulas, or in one word, which is convenient if properly understood, of romanticism. Sincerity, submission to nature, the large realism of the classics, in short, have a charm of their own—far superior to mere literature,—too great to be easily forgotten. Men will think of living before writing, and also while writing; they will become more and more aware of the unnaturalness of being "literary animals"; they will try to be,

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above all, men in the full sense of the word, making literature subserve higher interest than itself.

But is it possible to do more than anticipate this revival? Are there any signs that it is already beginning? In short, is it possible to name the great men of to-morrow? This question must unfortunately be answered in the negative. Victor Hugo, Lamartine, Musset, Michelet and Quinet had risen above the horizon before they were thirty years of age, and had given proofs of the versatility and facility which are among the characteristics of genius. Many of their elders named the direction they were following, but nobody said they were not taking giant's strides. There is no undoubted talent of this order in the rising literary generation. Every now and then one is arrested by a work of considerable value from an unknown pen, but nearly always the youthful talent proves to be less promise of further and higher achievements than precocious cleverness and skilful management. The writer ages without seeming to become older; I mean riper and richer. This was the case with M. Marcel Prévost, with M. Rod, with the poet Depont, with many others. It was especially the case with Léon Daudet, the son of the famous novelist, who startled the world with three or four works of powerful satire before he was thirty years old, and at nearly forty still looks physically and mentally the buoyant, promising lad who was to take his father's place. All these men reach the second rank on their first flight, but never rise higher. Their initial success is possibly the reason of their final failure: untimely popularity dazzles them, society pets them, and they promptly lose the notion of effort in the dim consciousness that cleverness is a good substitute for intrinsic merit.

Meanwhile, as I was saying, most—or I should say, nearly all—of the works worth the attention of a few months bear names which one is frightened to think will soon be those of veterans: Bourget, Loti, Barrès, France, Rod, Prévost. And year after year those works undergo an influence conspicuous, above all, on the stage, and more moral than literary. The success of Ibsen's plays tends to convert novelist as well as playwright into a director of conscience and a preacher or a politician with an infallible nostrum. Even such men as M. Lavedan and M. Donnay, who used to think of nothing except amusement, have gradually been compelled to follow M. Brieux and M.

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Hervieu, and go into psychological cases with most edifying gravity and—it should be added—with as much talent as when their ideal was no higher than the "*Vie Parisienne.*"

So M. Bourget is anti-Dreyfusist and writes on behalf of the royalist claims; M. France is Dreyfusist and lends the charm of his style to the Socialist dreams; M. Bazin is provincial and Catholic; M. Barrès sticks to his poetical nationalism, while M. Rod and M. Prévost take hold of every question of interest and dramatize it with undoubted skill.

Everything considered, it is not impossible that Loti, France—the France of the sceptical early studies,—and, above all others, Rostand, the most genuine artist of them all, should appear, in the judgment of posterity, as the only representatives of this age, which, however, is full of promise; and in any event we ought to hail with gratitude a movement substituting the honesty, wit and large human kindness of a J. Lemaître for the abracadabra of a Mallarmé.

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WASHINGTON, *August, 1907.*

IN the absence of the President and most of the heads of Departments, August is apt to be a dull month at the Federal capital; but this year there is no dearth of interesting topics for discussion. For instance, the conspicuous and useful part played by the American delegation at The Hague is viewed with lively satisfaction. We have formerly pointed out the wisdom of selecting such experienced diplomatists as ex-Ambassador Choate and ex-Ambassador Porter for a difficult and delicate task. It will be no fault of theirs if the second Peace Conference—which really was called by our Government, though, out of deference to the Tsar, the convoker of its predecessor, he was requested to issue the invitations in his name—shall prove entirely abortive. It has already been shown conclusively that the primary object for which both assemblages were supposed to meet—that, namely, of lessening the burdens imposed upon European taxpayers by enormous military and naval armaments—has even less chance of being attained in 1907 than it had in 1899. That the question is far from being ripe is evident from the fact that no definite proposal to the end in view has even been propounded. Sir Edward Fry of the British delegation, who had the matter in charge, and who came with high hopes to The Hague, has

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become convinced of the impossibility of effecting any real progress towards retrenchment, and, in his discouragement, has fallen back on a resolution carefully restricted to the expression of a wish that the Conference would not openly abjure the desire for an adjustment of outlay on preparations for warfare to the respective resources and requirements of the nations concerned, but continue to proclaim it at least an abstract ideal, to be compassed perhaps hereafter under more propitious circumstances. As none of the Powers was committed to anything by such an empty declaration, it was approved with edifying unanimity, and Sir Edward Fry was left to explain to outside philanthropists the disconcerting miscarriage of his exemplary design. While, moreover, the spokesmen of the British Government will have no positive achievement to their credit, they will have to account to the humanitarian section of their countrymen for their too successful opposition to Mr. Choate's proposal to mitigate the losses and sufferings from war, by providing that hereafter the private property of belligerents, no less than of neutrals, should, unless contraband, be exempt from seizure at sea. The British alternative, to wit, the abolition of contraband, was naturally inadmissible, because such an innovation would enable a neutral to carry arms and ammunition, as well as coal and food supplies, to any belligerent port which did not happen to be blockaded. As for Germany, Austria, Italy, France, Russia and Japan, each of these great Powers refrained from asking for any important change in the existing law of nations. Amid such apathy, the second Peace Conference would doubtless have adjourned some time ago, but for the grim determination of ex-Ambassadors Choate and Porter to pluck at least some measure of success out of the jaws of what, apparently, was destined to prove derisory defeat. General Porter, for his part, has persisted in trying to secure the unanimous sanction required for the insertion in international law of the Drago Doctrine in a modified form, a doctrine, that is to say, permitting the employment of force for the collection of contractual obligations, but only after a debtor-State has refused to conform to the decision of arbitrators. The general acceptance of this principle would obviously lessen to a considerable extent the recourse to warfare as a method of compelling the payment of an unadjudicated claim asserted by a strong State against a weak one. Had such a principle been



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a part of the Law of Nations two decades ago, Egypt could not have been seized and its revenues sequestrated for the benefit of European creditors until the exact amount of the sums advanced should have been ascertained by an international and disinterested board of arbitration. Neither would Great Britain, Germany and Italy have been permitted, in 1902, to bombard Venezuelan seaports and confiscate a third of the customs revenue of La Guayra and Puerto Cabello, except for the specific purpose of satisfying claims pronounced valid by an impartial tribunal. It is also obvious that the peace of the world would be materially promoted, if Mr. Choate should succeed in obtaining unanimous assent to the establishment of a permanent and distinguished court of arbitration at The Hague, to which no Power could refuse to submit a controversy (not involving its vital interest or its honor) lest it should seem to defy enlightened and humane public opinion. According to the latest telegrams, Mr. Choate's prospect of attaining his end is decisively brighter than it looked a fortnight, or even a week, ago.

The notion, apparently held by President Roosevelt and his Attorney-General, that the amazing drop in the prices of the standard securities quoted on the New York Stock Exchange, which has recently occurred, could take place without producing any effect on the industrial situation, or on the prestige of the existing Administration, will not bear close examination. Let us mark, for example, the inevitable influence of such a phenomenal decline in the value of securities on American railways, considered as consumers of iron and steel. It should be patent that, at the current quotations for stocks and bonds held normally in the highest repute, no railway would deem it expedient to issue new securities, or borrow on notes large sums of money for the purpose of extending its trackage or replenishing its rolling stock. It would wait for better times, or, in other words, for a season when its promises to pay, embodied in new issues of bonds or stocks, would regain the confidence of investors. The demand of railways for iron and steel products being thus reduced to a minimum, the output of the iron and steel producers would necessarily be contracted. What is true of this industry is true of every kind of manufacture. Even to agriculture the constriction would be communicated in the end, because the means of transportation, which even last year proved inadequate, would

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this year be even more deplorably unequal to the demand of cultivators. So intricate, indeed, and inextricable, are the relations of the applications of capital and labor to the state of the money-market, whereof a stock exchange is the barometer, that it is impossible for a grave unsettlement of values not to cause, if prolonged, a more or less serious approach to a paralysis of a nation's industries. When such a paralysis occurs, and, with a fair show of justice or probability, can be traced to Federal interference with the normally automatic functions of finance and business—as it could be traced in 1837, and again in 1893—it is impossible that the credit and prestige of the Administration, really or ostensibly responsible for the disturbance, should not be sensibly impaired. There is reason to believe that, had Andrew Jackson, the real author of the crisis of 1837, been nominated, instead of Van Buren, for the Presidency in 1840, he would have been beaten, though, perhaps, not so disastrously as was his lieutenant in the Hard Cider campaign. It will also be recalled that Grover Cleveland, who swept the country in 1892, could scarcely find a single delegate to do him reverence in the Democratic National Convention four years later. In the light of these precedents, we seem justified in predicting that, if a financial and industrial convulsion should occur between the present hour and November, 1908, not only Mr. Roosevelt, but Rooseveltism, would meet with a popular rebuke so peremptory and decisive that recovery would be impossible. In the eyes, therefore, of the President's critics, it is rapidly becoming a question of deep moment whether Rooseveltism will be found out in time.

For some years after 1898, when the sympathetic attitude of the British Government during our war with Spain presented a refreshing contrast to the ill-disguised unfriendliness of most of the Continental Powers, we strove to forget, and may almost be said to have succeeded in forgetting, the distrust of British motives and feelings planted in us by disclosure of them in the War of our Revolution, the War of 1812 and the War between the States. Americans on both sides of the Atlantic proceeded to celebrate with gushing fervor what they somewhat prematurely assumed to be an indissoluble union of hearts and indestructible reconsolidation of the English-speaking world. From this dream of recemented fraternity, never again to be

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ruptured, we were awakened somewhat rudely by the Anglo-Japanese treaty, concluded on August 15th, 1905, wherein our British brethren seemed utterly to have overlooked the possible occurrence of a war between Japan and the United States in the Pacific. We say overlooked, because the British negotiators of that compact did not exclude the United States from the list of Powers against which they agreed to guarantee the territorial integrity of the Mikado's dominions. That is to say, while our Republic is by that treaty left to defend for itself the Philippines and Hawaii against Japanese aggression, we should be debarred by the British navy from retaliating in kind, should we happen to beat our enemy at sea, upon the Japanese archipelago. We could not but compare this curious lack of foresight or precaution on Britain's part, where our interests were concerned, with the unwavering court paid to us by the Berlin Government, and with the significant fact that, although France and Russia have followed England's example in interchanging guarantees with Japan, the German Empire has held itself aloof, and thus kept itself at liberty to offer us cooperation, should our interests in the Pacific be assailed by a Power astutely safeguarded against reprisal. The more that long-headed Americans reflect upon the possible consequences of Britain's close association with Japan, on the one hand, and of Germany's studious avoidance of any such intimate relation on the other, the more they feel constrained to ask themselves whether they were justified, three years ago, in treating Britain with absolute confidence, and the German Empire with coldness and indifference. It is perfectly certain that, unless the British people, which is improbable, should compel its Government to repudiate on our behalf the treaty of August 15th, 1905, with Japan, we might find ourselves, in an easily conceivable contingency, without a friend in the Pacific, except the German nation, and hampered in an effort adequately to punish Japan for a sudden seizure of an American dependency, because Great Britain would bar the way. Americans, in a word, can hardly be blamed if they have been driven by events to the conclusion that a European Power which really wishes to be looked upon as our best friend ought, before assuming the obligations of a treaty with one of our possible enemies, to consider with exceeding wariness its bearing on our national interests.

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# THE EDITOR'S DIARY.

### Announcement.

ONE year ago we began the experiment of publishing THE REVIEW twice a month. In some respects the results have been satisfactory; in others not. A larger audience has been won, but the additional revenue derived from increased circulation has not equalled the greatly enhanced cost of production. Moreover, our busy American people seem not only to be satisfied with, but to prefer, a Monthly to a Fortnightly REVIEW. The progress of the past year we attribute less to frequency of publication than to excellencies attained by increased expenditure of energy and money. Few, if any, of our readers, we are convinced, will be displeased to learn that, from this date forward, THE REVIEW will appear monthly in enlarged and improved form, as indicated by this initial number. Substantially the same amount of material will be furnished, new and attractive features will be added, and the price will be reduced to four dollars a year, and thirty-five cents a copy.

### The Greed of Women.

WHILE admitting, as we must if honest in our minds, that women possess the greater portion of the goodness of the world, we cannot deny and should not overlook the patent truth that they are responsible also for nearly, if not quite, all of the evil practices prevalent among men. It is certainly trite and perhaps idle to hark back to the original example in the garden, but there is surely an unmistakable symptom in the unbroken continuance of a tendency which cannot rightfully be ignored. Montaigne noted it in the case of the woman who grossly purloined from her husband, that, as she told her confessor, she might distribute more liberal alms—"as if," the philosopher

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adds, disdainfully, "anybody would believe a word of this religious dispensation."

The fact, however, remains to this day that the dominance in the feminine mind of intuition over reason produces like paradoxes in morals, and is largely responsible for the trials and tribulations now being experienced in this curiously and somewhat causelessly unhappy land. Envy, it is true, lies at the root of our trouble; but, oddly enough, envy not of the rich who hold, but of the rich who give. Men continue to amass great fortunes and keep them to themselves or bequeath them to their own, and die uncensured by their fellows, to pass to their just rewards or punishments elsewhere; it is upon those who are suspected of purloining from the people in order that they may distribute more liberal alms, that the wrath of the populace is now visited. Undoubtedly instinctive resentment of the double gratification thus obtained—of first acquiring and then bestowing—constitutes the chief cause of this quite general disapproval; but it is clearly the fault, as we have indicated, of intuition inherited from woman rather than of the reasoning faculty granted by the Maker, for some purpose known only to Himself, to man.

Greed lies at the bottom—woman's greed, transmitted to her unfortunate sons. We cast no aspersions nor would we contemplate for a moment indulgence in complacent crimination; we merely state the truth as it seems to the dispassionate observer. Indeed, to us the exceptional greed of woman, painful but necessary to record, has ever seemed one of the most attractive qualities of a being so complex that only divinity itself would have had the hardihood to fetch it into existence. It corresponds in no sense to the gluttony of man in respect to food or drink or the avarice of man as to worldly goods. We have never known a woman who could not, for appearance' sake, curb her appetite for fattening condiments with comparative ease; she, too, is a notable exception who fails to reduce mere money more closely than a man could possibly do to its proper place in relationship with other desirable possessions. Not that the woman is by nature the more generous; far from it; as to small things she is stingy; but in large ways her intuition is broader, wiser and inductive of finer sacrifice of self than the more reflective trait of the average man.

A woman of Ardea, according to Machiavelli, refused to con-

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sent to the marriage of her rich daughter with a plebeian whose suit was favored by the young woman's guardians, and thereby stirred up strife between the classes to such a point that the lowly born appealed to the Volscians, and the nobility to the Romans, for aid. Savage warfare ensued, and when finally the Romans triumphed all the chiefs of what they were pleased to regard as the sedition were put to death. Whereupon the philosopher sadly reflects that: "first, we see that women have been the cause of great dissensions and much ruin to states, and have caused great damage to those who govern them." What became of the girl and her dowry he fails to record, and at this late day, though regretfully, we may perhaps admit the unprofitableness of searching inquiry.

The real point lies in the fact that the sagacious adviser of princes was disposed to reprehend the mother for insisting upon wedding her daughter to a noble. We behold similar examples to this day and smile occasionally at exhibitions of overweening social ambition; but, after all, only the motive deserves consideration. Then, as often happens now, the mother realized that she was subjecting herself to ridicule, but she was quite ready and willing to assume that burden for the sake of her child. Despite the disastrous results, therefore, her act, considered by itself, was noble.

So it is with the greed of woman generally. It is more inordinate than that of man, but it is never sordid and has its root almost invariably in devotion to one more beloved by her than herself. The only hunger, speaking broadly, she feels for self is for affection, and such greed, no less than that for the best that can be had for one's own, is, we maintain, not material, but truly spiritual and therefore worthy of God's lesser creatures.

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**Touch Not, Taste Not, Handle Not!**

THE unusual prominence for the moment accorded by the public mind to the use of spirituous liquors as a topic of discussion is directly attributable to two widely divergent causes, the first being the surprising wave of prohibitory legislation that is sweeping over our Southern States, and the second, unfortunately, the individual action of a conspicuous candidate for the position of Chief Magistrate in offering to his guests a mixture

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chiefly of gin and bitters vulgarly and unjustifiably designated as a cocktail. The prohibitory laws being enacted in the South are brought into being to avert the inevitable effect of strong drink upon the weak intellects of negroes, and are warranted, undoubtedly, as involving a practical precaution against the arousing of animal passions and the consequent commission of brutal crimes. The wide-spread criticism of the reported act of the eminent and exemplary citizen referred to, however, is based less upon practical than upon moral considerations, censure being expressed freely by fellow brethren in the church for the violation of what has come to be regarded by many, especially of the Methodist persuasion, as a tenet of the faith.

Many minds confound the laws of man with the laws of God, and this fact is responsible for wrong assumptions without number, but none probably so common as this, that the drinking of spirituous liquors is forbidden by Biblical authority. Excessive indulgence, indeed, is denounced in many passages as unwise, but hardly, except by inference, as sinful, and the practical Lemuel went so far as to distinguish in recommendation between wine as best for those that be "of heavy hearts," and "strong drink" for him that is "ready to perish," counselling even that such should "drink and forget his poverty, and remember his misery no more." In the days of the great temperance crusade in New England the ribald were wont to taunt the reformers with the statement that the Saviour turned water into wine, but the answer promptly given was to the effect that the water became only unfermented grape-juice, and then invariably came the stern admonition: "Touch not, taste not, handle not!" No single text in the Bible probably has been pressed into service more frequently than this; and surely the meaning of none has been so generally and completely perverted. The interesting fact is that, instead of making the prohibition as commonly interpreted, the Apostle distinctly forbade the Gentiles of Colossæ to observe the injunction uttered by another—probably the gnostic philosopher, whose teachings had so distressed the good Epaphras. A noted divine of Brooklyn, having been taken severely to task for hinting as much, makes no response, evidently fearing to impair his usefulness as a religious teacher by overturning a cherished tradition. Being ourselves, fortunately, unembarrassed by such apprehension, we are enabled, without prejudice or fear of con-

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sequences, at least in this world, to make a presentation of the case, which should be as convincing as it will be brief and simple.

Despite the doubts expressed by Professors Oort and Kuenen respecting the authenticity of the Epistle to the Colossians, and their insistence that it must have been prepared by a disciple subsequent to the death of Paul, we may reasonably assume that it was written, as is generally supposed, by the Apostle himself while in prison in Rome, in response to an earnest appeal from Epaphras, who had sat under his teachings at Ephesus and, returning to Colossæ with Philemon and Archippus, had founded the true church. Success crowned their efforts, and for a time all was well; but presently specious teachers of false doctrines appeared and, being unable to cope with them, Epaphras hurried to Rome and induced Paul to write to the people directly, confirming and expanding the simple gospel which he and his companions had promulgated. The most adroit disturber, according to Conybeare and Howson, was an Alexandrian Jew, who abounded in precepts that seemed admirable and therefore likely to induce the subordination of religion to morals. It was this tendency which Paul undertook to counteract in the very fine epistle borne back to Colossæ by Tychicus. His purpose was to dissipate the clouds of philosophy or gnosis which depreciated dependence upon the Christ and, by warning the people against observance of Jewish ceremonials, to win them back to the simple faith. To accomplish his intent, it was necessary to make a sharp distinction between spiritual and material excellencies, exalting the one and, for the sake of contrast, deprecating the other. Hence the much-quoted phrase, as presented in the Authorized Version (Chapter II), thus:

**20. Wherefore, if ye be dead with Christ from the rudiments of the world, why, as though living in the world, are ye subject to ordinances,**
**21. (Touch not; taste not; handle not;**
**22. Which all are to perish with the using;) after the commandments and doctrines of men?**

Or, according to the Revised Version:

**20. If ye died with Christ from the rudiments of the world, why, as though living in the world, do ye subject yourselves to ordinances,**
**21. Handle not, nor taste, nor touch**
**22. (all which things are to perish in the using), after the precepts and doctrines of men?**

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In each of these versions, in conformity with custom, the phrase appears in a separate verse, and has been freely quoted as if in fact a segregated injunction. The free translation by Conybeare and Howson puts it more connectedly, thus:

> If, then, when you died with Christ, you put away the childish lessons of outward things, why, as though you still lived in outward things, do you submit yourselves to decrees ("hold not, taste not, touch not—forbidding the use of things which are all made to be consumed in the using) founded in the precepts and doctrines of men?

In other words, if they were indeed true Christians and dead with Christ (*i. e.*, dead to the world), they needed pay no heed to specious moral precepts because necessarily their living would be righteous, and the giving of undue attention to things "consumed in the using," such as meat and drink, would serve only to confuse and distract the mind from consideration of inward grace and spiritual life. That a doctrine so true and pure and exalted should be distorted into a specific prohibition of the use of spirituous liquors is surely no more creditable to modern intelligence than the frequent attempts to find warrant for their use in the Apostle's admonition to take "a little wine for thy stomach's sake," when as a matter of fact no general application was intended—nothing, in fact, beyond a wise and sympathetic suggestion to his friend Timothy, who was dyspeptic, to avoid the use of water and substitute a fluid more readily digested.

We shall pursue this phase of the subject at this time no further than to add that persons incapable of reading with understanding should carefully refrain from drawing from the Bible misleading quotations, whose possible detection cannot fail to create in open minds serious misgivings respecting the teachings of the entire Book.

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### The Folly of Worry, and Its Cure.

BEING human, happily or unhappily, we cannot deny the comfort to be found in the reflection that misery never lacks the company it loves. We all have our troubles, and some of us derive much satisfaction from the contemplation of them. Indeed, there are those who are happy only when wretched; but these we believe to be as few in number as they are disagreeable in association; the vast majority of humans are normal, and

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disposed, therefore, in conformity with natural law, to smile when the skies are clear and to grieve under the portent of clouds. Hence the ease with which worry takes possession of the mind, colors the disposition and makes a cripple of effort. That causes abound we know and must admit, as we do almost unconsciously the certainty of death; but too little cognizance is taken of the fact that the effect of mere apprehension, which is all that worry really is, may be subjected to simple mental treatment and be overcome.

We would undertake, first, to demonstrate the folly of worry. This may seem supererogatory, but it is wise always to place well the foundation of the simplest proposition and yet more important to make plain the substantial advantages to be gained from heeding a suggestion. As a force, then, worry is purely negative and therefore destructive; it never incites; it always discourages, because back of it is fear—fear, not of something in view, but of the terrifying unseen. It is the nightmare of day, cruelly absorptive of mental and physical energies and, of all diseases, the most nerve-lacerating. Such a force obviously cannot help, but must necessarily hinder, the removal of obstacles, since itself has already sapped the very qualities essential to success and broken the power of resolution.

Moreover, constant brooding often brings to pass the very thing dreaded, which otherwise would not have happened. We all have noted instances of the making up of a story from nothing, and its telling and retelling so many times that ultimately the author himself honestly believes it to be true. So with worry, beginning with doubt and mere imaginings, proceeding by steady stages through more definite apprehension to settled expectation, and finally culminating in actual realization. Even though this conclusion be not reached, it often happens that a mere fancy feeds and feeds and grows and grows, until the continuous thought becomes so dominant that the effect of the dread becomes as harmful as that of the unfulfilled reality would have been.

Yet more serious is the deprivation of aid from others brought about by the transference of impression. In these days of co-operation, none except possibly our Chief Magistrate is capable of really great accomplishment single-handed; each is dependent consciously or unconsciously upon his fellows. It is essential, therefore, to maintain the effectiveness of the helpful forces

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which must be drawn upon from that source. Instead of doing this, as some suppose, by creating sympathy, worry exercises a directly contrary influence by self-communication to other minds.

"It is now a thoroughly established scientific fact," says Doctor Leander Edmund Whipple, "that an Image clearly formed in mind may be transferred to other minds by direct reflection. Through this action the other mind receives the impression and begins to think the same idea."

Therefore, the learned metaphysicist concludes: one who permits the imaging faculty to picture a dread in thought form immediately arouses the mental activity of his associates, and "puts into operation the most powerful forces of earthly life for the speedy destruction of his own hopes and desires. So worry," he logically concludes, and we may now agree, "is always ill-advised."

But can it be avoided or overcome? Is the disease curable without divine interposition? Undoubtedly, if the theory of thought-transference be accepted as indeed an established scientific fact, because surely an Image tending upward can be communicated as freely—if not, in fact, with greater readiness, because of the larger receptivity for that which is pleasing—as an Image tending downward. Thus, clearly, there may be brought into action for success those very forces which worry excites for ruin—forces which may or may not be irresistible, but certainly are, as the wise doctor observes, the most potent of earthly life and, consequently, all that we poor humans can summon to our aid, unless we adopt the effeminate practice of those silly persons who constantly annoy the Almighty by beseeching Him to tide them over their petty difficulties. Not that their troubles seem slight to them; far from it; invariably they are more serious than any others' can possibly be; but the mere certainty that, if God should stamp them out personally, instead of leaving such work, as He does and ought, to nature, other trials of no less consequence would promptly arise, shows clearly enough that, in reality, all individual tribulation is trifling.

Occasional reflection upon this great truth will do much to drive away the bad fairy and open the way out of despondency; but better yet is constant realization that one can do for either himself or others only that which lies within him to perform, and, having satisfied himself on that score, he possesses an in-

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alienable right to disregard all possible consequences, and need give them no more consideration than a sagacious person accords idle speculation as to whether, when he awakes, he will find himself in heaven or in hell. Supplement knowledge of the recognized folly of regret with appreciation of the fact that worry is never over actual, but always over imaginary, ills, and is therefore as unnecessary as it is unwise and inefficient, and a long step will be taken towards the definite elimination of the chief bane of mankind.

For ourselves, too, in these nerve-racking days of turmoil and strife, we find distinct advantage in occasionally emulating the example of a great Peacham philosopher, who, when asked how he maintained his exceptional composure, slowly and sagely replied: "Sometimes I set and think, and sometimes I just set."

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**Love, Fiction and Learned Ladies.**

WHEN learned ladies discourse upon love we invariably pay strict attention and find much advantage in so doing,—less, we confess, on account of the instruction thus acquired than from the opportunity to study the subtlety with which barbs are forged for sisters not so fully endowed with knowledge. It was with no little zest, therefore, that we opened a contemporary periodical bearing on its title-page the name of such an one as the author of an essay headed interrogatively, "Is Cupid a Convention?" Assuming that the name of the god was utilized chiefly to attract notice and that the discourse would be upon the thing itself, some disappointment met the discovery that the sole purpose of the learned lady was to make protest against comparative dominance of the tender passion in modern fiction. Briefly, as we make her out, if the writer had the construction of our novels, she would eliminate love as a motive, or even as an incidental feature, upon the ground that it has ceased to be a substantial influence and, in fact, no longer holds, except for the adolescent, any appreciable interest.

Womanlike, and for no particular purpose that we can discover, other, perhaps, than to justify a striking title, the author opens her rugged essay with an attack upon the god himself that seems to us little short of scurrilous. "Are we not obsessed," she cries impatiently in the very first paragraph, "by

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an exaggerated worship? This fat child with a ribbon on—wingleted, and sometimes infelicitously crowned with a silk hat—is he not largely a convention, poetic and pictorial?" Now, quite aside from this reprehensible flippancy in treating of even a pagan deity, the serious misrepresentation conveyed by such a description merits stern rebuke. The true Eros symbolized much more than mere sickly sentimentality, as hinted by the learned lady; to the Spartans and Cretans he was the god of patriotism or love of country, and as such was accorded sacrifices previous to the commencement of a battle. Moreover, so far from being a chubby boy ridiculously and, to our nicer modern vision, inappropriately clad, he was represented as lithe of limb and graceful of form, a model of ripening youth—unquestionably the most attractive figure in the Attic school of sculpture. As the god of the love that operates in nature, he had participated in the creation of the world out of Chaos, and consequently occupied a position higher than that of his fellow deities, because it was he who swayed their passions no less than those of men. To depict him, then, as a little buffoon, as he appears in our comic papers, or as a mere trickster of human hearts, as he is found upon silly valentines, is unworthy of even a learned lady apparently prejudiced in favor of her own sex.

But this only in passing; we hold no brief for the "shirtless darling," Cupid; nor need we, nor any one; the very armor of his recognized attributes constitutes an impregnable defence against attacks from whatever source.

The chief complaint is of those who write and print the love-stories of to-day. Our censor continues:

"The simpler love-stories of earlier days now appeal only to children or to those whose novels are few and far between. Those who read many are inevitably wearied of a single monotonous theme, and demand other entertainment. The entertainer unfortunately knows no other theme, and finding his confection appeal but dully to the jaded palate, he forthwith adds to the strength of the concoction, makes it richer, hotter, more highly seasoned. For a while this held us, only to produce the same weariness by its ceaseless repetition. Then the distracted confectioner, knowing no dish but this, finding it no longer popular, either weak or strong, proceeds to let it grow sour and stale—ferment to beady foam or horrible decay. If we no longer want the love-story simple and easy, they give us the love-story complex and difficult. If we weary of it pleasant and satisfying, it becomes unpleasant and disappointing. If we tire of the natural and healthy, the virtuous and

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normal, then appear the unnatural and diseased, the vicious and abnormal of every degree."

Herein lies truth undoubtedly, but by no means the whole truth. Mark Twain, Kipling, Stevenson and Stockton are but a few of those who have responded successfully to what the learned lady terms the call of progress. Indeed, she herself notes with satisfaction and as proof of her contention the favor won by "David Harum" and "Mrs. Wiggs," in cheery disregard of the fact that she is indicating, not novels, but pictures. The truth, of course, is that literature, like religion, science and life itself, is evolutionary. In the beginning, as Professor Brander Matthews concisely points out, fiction dealt with the Impossible —with wonders and mysteries as of the "Arabian Nights," with tales of chivalry like "Amadis of Gaul" and weird romances. Then came the Improbable, full of adventurous deeds, such as chain the imagination but never are performed. Followed the Probable of Balzac, Thackeray and Dickens, accompanied by the Inevitable as represented by the "Scarlet Letter," "Romola," "Smoke" and "Anna Karénina." Precisely where we stand today it would be difficult to determine; certain it is that the recent recrudescence of unduly chivalric tales has run its course and more substantial diet is demanded. May it not be possible that the reading public has become so large that there is no longer one, in the sense of having a common taste, and that desires, likes and dislikes are more diversified than ever before? If so, would it be the part of wisdom to discourage the building of fiction around the motive which still possesses the greatest power of attraction?

True, as the learned lady observes, ambition is now a mighty force and merits the attention of our skilled story-makers. But that is no recent development. Ambition has always been a potent influence—more potent invariably than love in the cases of those who have been most conspicuous in the world's history. There is nothing strange, for example, in the fact that one always thinks of the former and never of the latter in connection with our present President. The like was true of Alexander and of Pompey; and any schoolboy can tell which way Napoleon turned when forced to choose between the two. In Julius Cæsar love and ambition seemed to jostle each other with equal force. A beautiful person in himself, of a fair complexion, tall and spright-

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ly, full-faced, with quick hazel eyes, according to Suetonius, all the great ladies, from the queens Cleopatra and Eunoe and the consorts of Pompey and Gabinius and Cassius, to the little sister of Cato, even his own four wives, we are told, loved him devotedly; but never for a minute of an hour did he step aside from an occasion that might conduce in any way to his advancement; and tales in plenty were written by himself and others of his conquests, but of armed men, not of susceptible hearts.

Again true, as our learned lady says, the scientific spirit is lifting us forward and religion is broadening and enlightening, but is it a fact that "Education does more to advance humanity in a century than does Master Cupid in a thousand years"? It is a harsh and uncompromising view, making of us all mere hewers of wood, reducing the most divine of our attributes to an utterly negligible quantity, disputing the ennobling influence of spirituality, and leaving to life itself naught else than the desolation of materialism as interpreted by science. Such is not advancement except in the minds of those unblessed with the finest of God's gifts to men and women—the love that makes the world go 'round and may ever, we trust, constitute the basis of our story-telling, though in no wise, of course, being barred as a topic of intellectual discourse among learned ladies who know less or more of that whereof they speak.

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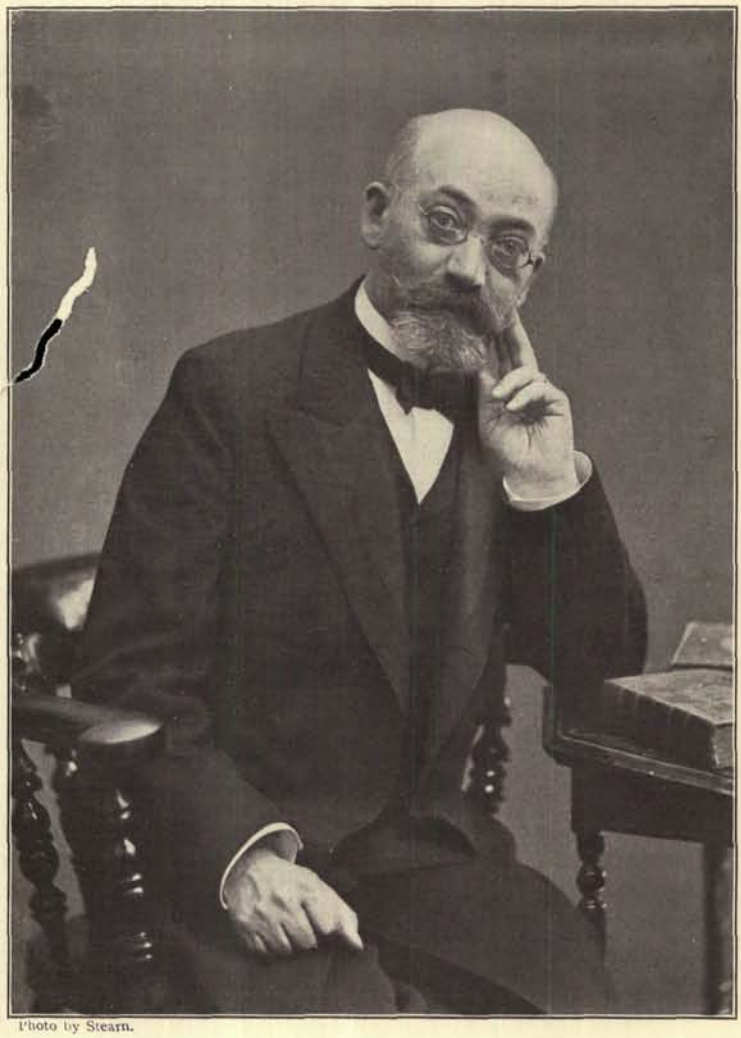

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